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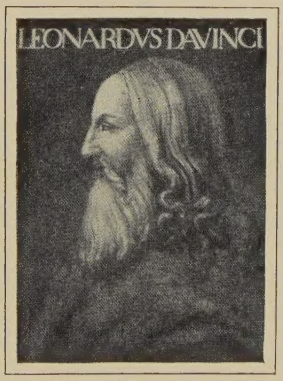
GENERAL HISTORY OF ART

ART IN
NORTHERN ITALY

BY

CORRADO RICCI

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF FINE ARTS AND ANTIQUITIES OF ITALY



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(*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER I

RAVENNA AND BYZANTINE ART

Ravenna under Romans and Goths.—Churches in Ravenna.—Chapel of Galla Placidia.—Baptistery.—Mosaics.—Tomb of Theodoric. Bell-towers.—Crypts.—Palace of Theodoric.

THE most beautiful, the most complete and the most unimpaired monuments of so-called Byzantine art are preserved in Ravenna, a city of Northern Italy. This city had already achieved a notable development under the Roman Empire, for Augustus had recognised its suitability for the chief station of the Roman fleet on the Adriatic, and Tiberius had strengthened it with walls, and adorned it with public buildings. The Emperor Honorius accordingly deemed it worthy to be the capital of the Empire of the West, a position which it maintained for seventy-five years, up to the time when Odoacer, leader of the Heruli and the Turingi, had occupied the town and overthrown the Roman rule. That wise and modest barbarian established himself at Ravenna after his conquest of Italy, and here in 493 he died, treacherously slain by Theodoric, who had taken the city after a siege of three years, and had pretended to accept Odoacer as his coadjutor. Left as sole ruler, Theodoric in his turn confirmed the position of Ravenna as capital of his kingdom. The rule of the Goths lasted for sixty-three years and gave rise to a splendid development of the life and of the monuments of the town. However, on the death of Theodoric, the power of the Goths declined, and before long was finally annihilated by Belisarius and Narses; administered by these generals under Justinian, the city attained to yet greater magnificence. But this was the final expression of its glory, for under the harsh rule of the

Exarchs despatched from Constantinople, a rule that lasted for little less than two centuries, the city was gradually reduced to a state of abject decay. None the less, the fact that it had maintained its position as a capital for several centuries sufficed to retain for Ravenna a dominant position in art and letters throughout the darkness of the Middle Ages, as well as a certain political pride, thanks to which the city was able to hold its own against the claims, first of the Roman Curia and then of the rising republic of Venice.

Each of these periods has bequeathed to Ravenna monuments of supreme importance; so much so, that in the history of art, the city, as regards the Byzantine and proto-Romanesque periods, maintains its place as a *capital*. Every artistic form is richly displayed here: churches both with the central space and of the basilican type, baptisteries, mausoleums rich in sculpture and mosaics, towers, crypts; carvings in ivory, goldsmith's work and textiles.

FIG. 2.—APSE OF S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA, RAVENNA.
(*Photo. Chiusoli.*)

As to the origin of the art of Ravenna, or rather as to its immediate sources, various opinions have been held, opinions essentially discordant and in no case final. We may fairly conclude that each theory is partly true and partly false, and that the truth, as is nearly always the case, lies between them. For my own part, though I recognise a strong Oriental influence, none the less (as far as regards the fourth and fifth centuries) the continuity of certain classical types and designs—a continuity which, I venture to say, was inevitable—seems to me obvious.

It is much to be regretted that in the eighteenth century a foolish architect was permitted to rob the town of the *Ecclesia Ursiana*, founded at the close of the fourth century, and to destroy nearly all the ornamental details of the building. The solemn church with its double aisles would have served as a useful example of the decline of the Roman methods of design, and of the merging of these into Byzantine forms. In any case, the rare fragments and the drawings that have survived, though indeed little studied as yet, in the case of certain characteristic forms of the art of Ravenna, attest

an earlier date than has been allowed by our writers of art history. In the original church, which stood east and west, dosseret or impost blocks were to be found, above the capitals; these must have been nearly half a century older than those in the votive church of Galla Placidia, which have hitherto been regarded as the oldest known. Unfortunately, we have failed to find any drawings of the exterior of the great basilica, so that we are unable to say whether its walls displayed that arrangement of pilasters or "wall-strips" and blind arcades which were among the principal characteristics of the architecture of Ravenna. The earliest drawings of the monuments of Ravenna date from the sixteenth century, and their number increases gradually in the following centuries, at a time when the rude bareness of the exteriors must have been peculiarly distasteful. The architects of the day accordingly confined their drawings to the interiors. The sentiment of the early Christian church was forgotten:—"Thou shalt not behold beauty unless thou enterest within me; thou shalt not enjoy felicity unless thou enterest within me!"

FIG. 3.—CHAPEL OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 4.—THE GOOD SHEPHERD. MOSAIC IN THE CHAPEL OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The wall-strips had, however, a great development in the fifth century, and many beautiful examples of them remain in Ravenna, in the first place those of S. Giovanni Evangelista, the votive church promised to the saint by Galla Placidia in 424 during a furious storm at sea. In spite of its ruthless treatment in 1747, some original work of the greatest importance is still to be

found in this church, for example the double colonnade, parts of the quadriporticus and of the façade, the lateral windows, and finally the arcades of the apse, the germ of the Romanesque apses that became common at a much later time (Fig. 2). On the other hand the sepulchral chapel of the above mentioned Galla Placidia (Fig. 3) as well as the Baptistery of the Cathedral, apart from some trifling alterations, still retain their primitive aspect: in these buildings, moreover, may be found the oldest mosaics of Ravenna, with a ground work of deep blue; those with a gold ground belong to the following century.

FIG. 5.—BAPTISTERY AND BELFRY OF THE CATHEDRAL, RAVENNA. (*Photo. Zoli.*)

As in some other cases, this baptistery had its origin in a Roman building. It is in fact the *calidarium* that formed part of a *nymphæum* built in the second or third century. In early days the point of importance in the baptismal office was the ceremony itself, not the place: the convert might receive the initial sacrament either upon the bank of a river or in the public baths. It was the Archbishop Neone who about the middle of the fifth century transformed the building and decorated it with subjects bearing upon its new purpose; the plan was altered, and of the original Roman decoration only the capitals and the veneering of marble were preserved. But the mosaics also, although of the fifth century, have an unmistakable Roman grandeur and simplicity; the figures, too, are Roman in character; they are calm and correct, and have the small heads of antique statues.

FIG. 6.—THE BAPTISTERY OF THE CATHEDRAL, RAVENNA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

That the early mosaicists at Ravenna worked under Roman influence is to me a matter of absolute certainty. It is revealed in

the design, the technique, and the sentiment of the mosaics in the Baptistery as in those in the chapel of Galla Placidia (Fig. 4) and the older examples in S. Apollinare Nuovo (Figs. 1, 10), when we compare these with the sumptuous mosaics of unmistakable Byzantine style that were executed after the fall of the Gothic kingdom. Thus it may be unhesitatingly affirmed that for the long period during which Ravenna was the capital, first of the Roman Empire of the West, then of Odoacer and of the Gothic kingdom (402–540), the Oriental influence was kept within narrow limits, while on the other hand the force of Roman tradition was predominant. The plan of the chapel of Galla Placidia was a Latin cross; close by was a church dedicated to the Holy Cross similarly planned, which led to the general adoption of this arrangement in churches with transepts. In the mosaics of the sepulchral chapel there are many singular points of resemblance both to those in the church of S. Giovanni in Fonte at Naples and to those at Casaranello: Roman motives recur in them, such as the vase with doves of the Villa Adriana, and the polychrome Greek key pattern in perspective of the Baths of Otricoli. Similarly, in S. Apollinare Nuovo, the aulic church of Theodoric (Figs. 7, 8), the parts that date from his reign show Roman influence. The figures of the prophets, seen full face, wrapped in their mantles, with a book or a scroll in their hands, look like exact reproductions of statues (Fig. 10). The monochrome is scarcely interrupted by the rosy tints of the flesh or the red

FIG. 7.—S. APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA. (*Photo. Ricci.*)

FIG. 8.—S. APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA. INTERIOR. (*Photo. Ricci.*)

bindings of the books. To these figures, firmly planted upon a base that is seen in diminishing perspective, the position of the hands and the arrangement of the mantles take a variety of forms, all of which may be found in classical statues.

* * *

After the reconquest of Ravenna by the generals of Justinian, the mosaic decoration of buildings reveals an absolutely different sentiment and technique: and in the marble work new forms, such as the cubic or the basket-shaped capital, make their appearance. The buildings at Ravenna which might have given evidence of the change were legion, but, unhappily, the ravages of time and of man have sadly reduced their number. Some few still remain, but as we do not propose to give a detailed list here, it will suffice to mention that the most important and the best examples of this artistic revolution at Ravenna are the churches of S. Vitale (Figs. 12–13), of S. Apollinare in Classe (Fig. 15), and, taking into account the two long friezes of Martyrs and Virgins (Fig. 11), that of S. Apollinare Nuovo. In the mosaics of these churches all desire for the expression of form appears to be subordinated to the decorative effect. The figures succeed one another with little variety; the feeling for relief has almost disappeared; the folds of the drapery have become narrower, longer, and more angular, without any fusion of the tints, so that they do not appear to surround the limbs they cover. On the other hand there is increased splendour in the draperies which are rich with gold and flowered designs, the diadems, the necklaces and the girdles, embroidered with gold and with jewels; in the representation of these objects the brilliant colours of the enamels alternate with applications of mother-of-pearl, which last finds its way even into the marble. It may be said that just as the Italian artists were influenced by the severe classical school in the treatment of their figures, so the Byzantines were influenced by the glittering textiles of the East (Fig. 14). While, for the flesh tints,

FIG. 9. TOMB OF THEODORIC, RAVENNA. (*Photo. Ricci.*)

two or three gradations of tone sufficed to lead from red to white, a hundred lively colours and a general profusion of discs of mother-of-pearl were deemed insufficient to reproduce the jewels and embroideries of the garments. It must, however, be acknowledged that if, in matter of design, and of substance, so to speak, the mosaic work of the Roman tradition is more solid and beautiful, that of Byzantine origin, with its unbridled luxury, is more sumptuous and therefore more decorative.

FIG. 10.—PROPHETS. MOSAIC IN S. APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA. (*Photo. Ricci.*)

As regards the architecture, if we except the church of S. Vitale, which is octagonal in plan, with chapels surrounding a central space (Figs. 12, 13), and that of S. Croce already mentioned, all the others, both those which survive and those that have been destroyed, are basilican in plan with three aisles, the Cathedral alone having five.

A form that differs somewhat from the other sixth century buildings of Ravenna is represented by the mausoleum of Theodoric (Fig. 9), constructed in two orders, with blocks of freestone carefully squared and put together without mortar. The lower storey is decagonal, and has on each side a deep niche, over which is carried an arch formed of eleven stepped voussoirs, and supported by massive pilasters. In the niche facing the west is the door by which entrance is effected into a cruciform passage. With regard to the upper storey it is held by some that corresponding to the eighteen lunettes that project from the building and recur on each side of the lower storey in pairs, save in the space occupied by the door, there originally existed an equal number of arched vaults supported by small columns arranged around the edge of the parapet, and

FIG. 11.—VIRGINS. MOSAIC IN S. APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

forming an exterior gallery surrounding the edifice. I, on the other hand, am of opinion that the arches and the mouldings supported, not an ambulatory, but rather a simple decorative facing adhering to the wall but projecting from it after the fashion of the wall-strips and shallow blind arcades of the other monuments of Ravenna. And this raises a doubt whether we can accept the hypothesis that the "Rotonda" is, architecturally, to be classed with the sepulchral monuments of Syria. For here, too, we find evidence of Roman influence. In fact, the interior of the lower storey calls to mind the Roman building at Cassino which was converted into the Church of the Holy Cross (Capella del Crocifisso), some of the tombs on the Via Appia, and still more the building that, about the year 1517, Giuliano da Sangallo saw and drew "a Capua vecchia."

FIG. 12.—S. VITALE AND TOMB OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA.

* * *

It is not, however, the Christian art of the fifth and sixth centuries alone that we have to study in Ravenna, but also that of the following centuries up to the twelfth, as represented in a series of remarkable buildings which show how Byzantine art, losing some of its characteristics and acquiring others, was merged gradually in Romanesque.

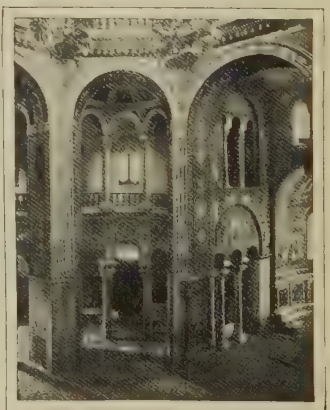

FIG. 13.—S. VITALE, RAVENNA (*Photo. Alinari.*)

In direct contradiction to received opinion, I must point out that the campanili, the crypts, and the so-called Palace of Theodoric, are buildings of a later day, and belong to the period comprised between the eighth and the twelfth centuries.

Seeing that the churches of Ravenna belonged to the fifth and sixth centuries, it was formerly taken for granted that their respective campanili were of the same period. However, of late years the question has been raised whether these bell-towers may not have been subsequent additions at a considerably later date. Alterations of various kinds coincided with the erection of these towers, and their position varies in different churches, from which we cannot but conclude that they formed no part of the original plan, but were added later, in any space that happened to be free. This hypothesis is confirmed by the facts that they differ in construction from the churches to which they are attached, that they are not represented in the mosaics, and that they do not figure in the most ancient records or drawings.

FIG. 14.—THEODORA. MOSAIC IN S. VITALE, RAVENNA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Nor do the crypts at Ravenna date back to the foundation of the churches. In all cases they are adapted more or less successfully to the older parts, and they are generally constructed with material derived from older buildings. The crypt of the Cathedral dates probably from the time of the reconstruction of the apse in 1112, that of the Church of S. Apollinare in Classe from about 1170, and if the crypt of S. Francesco is of somewhat older date, it cannot be put further back than the tenth century.

Nor can the magnificent ruin that still survives under the title of the Palace of Theodoric (Fig. 16) be of an earlier date than the eighth century. Internal evidences forbid us to accept it as a relic of the Gothic king. In the purely decorative arcading, supported by columns, of the façade, in the treatment of the voussoirs surmounting the double openings, in the ribs of the vaulting, in the wall-strips, and in the arches that support the vaulting, the various elements of Romanesque architecture are already conspicuous; these elements, indeed, combine to build up an edifice of the most

original character, a monument of transition and of development. These constituent elements of the latest Byzantine, or, better, of the proto-Romanesque art of Ravenna, are spread over a wider field than was ever covered by the art of the fifth and sixth centuries, to which, indeed, in other districts very few buildings, apart from the Church of S. Pietro in Silvis near Bagnacavallo and the Euphrasian basilica at Parenzo, can be assigned.

FIG. 15.—S. APOLLINARE IN CLASSE, RAVENNA. INTERIOR. (*Photo. Ricci.*)

In the prosperous city of Milan there has been such a continuous restoration of the churches that nothing remains of this primitive period but the general plan of San Lorenzo and a few mosaics in Sant' Ambrogio. The early decline of Ravenna has had at least the effect of leaving her monuments intact, but Milan may say with Ovid: "Inopem me copia fecit."

FIG. 16.—THE SO-CALLED PALACE OF THEODORIC, RAVENNA. (*Photo. Ricci.*)

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FIG. 17.—S. MARK'S CHURCH, VENICE.

CHAPTER II

VENICE

Architecture and Sculpture, from the First Beginnings to the End of the Fifteenth Century

Origin of Venice.—Evolution of the City.—Church of S. Mark.—Campanile.—The Ducal Palace.—Venetian Architecture.—Palaces.—Churches.—Fra Giocondo.—A. Riccio and the Lombardi.—Relation of Sculpture to Architecture.

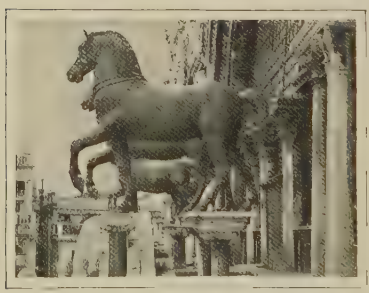

FIG. 18.—THE BRONZE HORSES, S. MARK'S, VENICE. (*Photo, Alinari.*)

The heritage of Ravenna, a town already on the decline in the seventh century, was gradually garnered by Venice and Bologna. Venice absorbed splendour, political power and the dominion of the Adriatic: Bologna, law and jurisprudence.

The growth of Venice was relatively late and slow, and she owes her origin to the pressure of barbarian invasion. The first inhabitants, indeed, appeared upon the lonely islets of the lagoon at the time of the invasions of Alaric, of Radagasius, and of Attila; but afterwards it would seem that on the clearing of the storm, under the impression that the danger was passed, the fugitives returned to their homes in the region already called *Venetia* by the Romans. The barbarians, however, had learnt the way, and, while the last of the Imperial line passed away amidst final struggles and crimes, invaders followed swiftly one upon the

other—first Odoacer, then Theodoric, then the Lombards. Hence there followed ever fresh flights of the Veneti to the sandbanks and the islets where they found a home, and whither, for lack of boats, their enemies could not follow them; here they were little exposed to the envy or pursuit of those who were panting for the plunder of rich domains and of walled cities. Here it was that the great people grew up who, while acknowledging in succession the supremacy of the Goths, of the Byzantines and of the Lombards—of the Byzantines in a special degree—determined, and carried out their determination, to live in freedom, to make their own laws, to choose their own representatives, and to alter laws and treaties at their own will. It was the pressure of threats from without and of dissensions within that led to the first election of a Doge, and to the early migrations of the seat of government, first from Heraclea to Malamocco, then from Malamocco to Rialto, which last became, like the Palatine Hill at Rome, the nucleus around which the city of Venice centred and finally was fixed. And, indeed, at the beginning "Rialto" meant Venice, and it is in this sense that Dante uses the word. There, in fact, was the principal harbour, and there the seat of the magistrates and of the bishops.

FIG. 19.—S. MARK'S CHURCH, VENICE. INTERIOR.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

The construction of the city was not the outcome of a gradual transformation in the course of time, as was the case with Rome and other great cities of Italy. Venice arose at a time when anything was possible in the way of building, and at a time when in Italy, even in the immediate neighbourhood, there was no lack of architectural marvels, as for example the Roman Verona, the Byzantine Ravenna, and, still nearer, Grado (the Cathedral and S. Maria delle Grazie), and Aquileia. The rapid evolution of Venice was controlled by magistrates and municipal officers of

experience who saw that the canals, the bridges, and the approaches to them were laid out with regularity, that the unhealthy, muddy creeks were cleansed, that the canal banks, the meadows and the houses were rendered secure. Nor was this all: they took care that the city should be enlivened by trees and green open spaces.

FIG. 20.—THE DOGE'S PALACE, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

One of the heroes of this period of organisation was the Doge Pietro Orseolo II, who was so much admired by the Emperor Otho III. He it was who gave both material and moral strength to his country. It was under his rule that the era of conquests began, an era that culminated under Enrico Dandolo. It was, indeed, just before and after the year 1000 that the true monumental and artistic glory of Venice was initiated, although there were already at that time some notable churches in existence, churches that later were either destroyed or transformed. On the other hand, in the adjacent lagoons a few buildings survive that have retained some part at least of their original construction (the apse of the cathedral of Torcello, the ruins of Jesolo, etc.).

FIG. 21.—PALAZZO FARSETTI AND PALAZZO LOREDAN, NOW PALAZZO DEL MUNICIPIO, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Among the churches transformed in later times, notable examples are S. Zaccaria and above all, San Marco, the foundations of which were laid in the year 829, the year after the clandestine transference of the body of the saint from Alexandria to Venice. The original church—built on the model of those of

Ravenna, divided into three aisles by two rows of columns, with a single apse and a narthex—was burnt in 976 during the insurrection against the Doge Pietro Candiano IV. It was restored at once under the Doge Orseolo I (976–978), but it no longer appeared worthy of the growing city, and the idea of rebuilding it on a larger scale and with richer decoration gradually gained ground: this decision was finally taken by Domenico Contarini in 1063. The stupendous work was carried on with ardour under Domenico Selvo, who lived to see the walls partially covered with marbles and mosaics (Figs. 17 and 19). It would appear that the architects were Byzantines, but the completion of the work was entrusted to Venetians and Lombards; and these men did not disdain—any more than their successors in later days—to avail themselves in building of decorative fragments from the first basilica and of others gleaned here and there, from Altinum, from Aquileia, from decadent Ravenna, from Istria, from Dalmatia, and even from the distant East, as for example the two pilasters brought from Acre and the four figures of porphyry which may still be seen to the right of the façade, to say nothing of the four famous bronze horses taken from the Hippodrome of Constantinople in the year 1205 (Fig. 18).

FIG. 22.—FONDACO DEI TURCHI, VENICE, BEFORE THE RESTORATION.

FIG. 23.—PALAZZO CONTARINI-FASAN, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The styles of architecture adopted are as various as are the fragments built into the church; but the Byzantine predominates, for while the work carried out in this style underwent no modification, the

Lombard, the Gothic, and even the Renaissance styles have had in some measure to adapt themselves to it, acknowledging, as it were, its sovereignty in the building. Hence the admirable harmony of the whole, a harmony which in my opinion would be destroyed if each style had refrained from concessions. While, indeed, in the case of the decorative arcading the Lombards did not place themselves in opposition to the latest Byzantines, the designers of the latest mosaics were willing to space out their figures in that field of gold, which may indeed be said to give the key-note to which are attuned all the voices of this marvellous chromatic choir, from the dignified and severe figures that took their place upon the walls in the time of Domenico Contarini to the Giottesque designs of the Baptistery; from the strange and lifelike work of Giambono, to the ample and vigorous figures of Titian and of Tintoretto; they shine out from all sides, from the vault, from the arches, from the lunettes, from the cupolas, from the walls clothed with marbles of many hues, chiselled in the course of many centuries by a thousand hands, from those of the Greek craftsman to those of the disciple of Sansovino.

FIG. 24.—CA' D'ORO, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 25.—CHURCH OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO, WITH COLLEONI MONUMENT, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

So, again, between the ninth and twelfth centuries there arose the Campanile, transformed by Montagnana in the fourteenth century, and crowned at a still later date with a bell-loft. The tower fell in 1902, and has been rebuilt "where it was and as it was."

FIG. 26.—CHURCH OF S. MARIA DELL' ORTO, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The Ducal Palace has a long history, akin to that of the basilica and of the campanile. For this building again is a marvellous product of the careful work of generations. Twice burnt (976 and 1105), twice it rose from its ashes; it was then subjected to continuous renovations, enlargements, embellishments, and restorations; so that the most ancient parts now visible are Gothic. At the present day we have in this building, with its lower ranges of loggias (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) and the plain, unbroken upper wall, a curious inversion of the usual criterions of strength and stability. It is much to be regretted that the windows, with two exceptions, have lost the graceful tracery of marble which divided them into three parts, and thus relieved the bald and rude appearance of the empty spaces (Fig. 20).

* * *

FIG. 27.—CHURCH OF S. STEFANO, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

There are few surviving examples of the Venetian architecture that was in favour between the years 1000 and 1300. But in what remains we see again distinctly exemplified the phenomenon of various styles fused into one (*cf.* p. 16); and this one, assuming a fresh form, displays an *individual* character, and takes its place as Venetian. To the continuation of

the original Byzantine forms are superadded the methods and motives of Lombard art; we may even find traits of Saracen art in the slender columns, placed close together, and in the height of the plinths. We have examples of this in the former Loredan and Farsetti (now the *Municipio*) Palaces and again in the Donà (now Sicher), the Saibanti, the Businello, the Da Mosto and other palaces, all of them on the Grand Canal, and most of them close to the Rialto. Here we have a proof that it was precisely around this spot that the city grew up. A valuable example would have been offered by the Palace erected in 1225 (later the Fondaco dei Turchi, and now the Museo Civico), had it not been for the ruthless and vulgar restoration which the building underwent about the middle of the nineteenth century. The many drawings, engravings, pictures and photographs which have been preserved only serve to increase our regret that this marvellous building in its state of picturesque decay, is no longer reflected in the waters of the Grand Canal.

FIG. 28.—PALAZZO PISANI, S. POLO, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari*).

FIG. 29.—SCUOLA DI S. MARCO, VENICE, NOW THE HOSPITAL. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The Gothic style brought about a great and far-reaching modification of the architecture and sculpture of Venice. It was a style which flourished fortunately during the most prosperous period of the life of Venice, when Andrea Dandolo and Andrea Contarini defeated Genoa, and when Antonio Venier occupied the island of Corfu and the towns of Durazzo and Argo.

This was the time of great churches and glorious palaces. Among

the first it will suffice to mention Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari and SS. Giovanni e Paolo; among the latter the Ducal Palace (Fig. 20), the "Casa degli Evangelisti," near S. Eustacchio, the Ca' d'Oro (Fig. 24), and the Contarini - Fasan (Fig. 23). In these palaces there are generally in the upper storeys spacious apartments which extend through the whole depth of the house, terminating at the façade in a row of windows divided by little columns, while the two solid wings of the building contain the less important rooms (Figs. 23, 24 and 43). These architectural arrangements, corresponding to a definite method of life, have, in the main, been maintained from century to century through all the changes of style, just as in ancient days was the case with the plan of the Roman house. It should be noted that these central saloons served, and indeed still serve, not only as places of assembly and of social gathering, but as approaches to the lateral rooms, taking the place of the Roman atrium.

FIG. 30.—PIAZZA OF S. MARK'S WITH SANSOVINO'S LOGGETTA, THE PROCURATIE VECCHIE, THE CLOCK TOWER, AND SIDE-VIEW OF S. MARK'S, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The number of windows corresponding to these saloons varies from two to twelve, the most usual number being six. Generally they are seen to be grouped within a quadrangular space which is surrounded by a framework of gilded marble, and the tracery of their pointed arches passes upward to form rose or

FIG. 31.—PORTA DELLA CARTA, DOGE'S PALACE, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

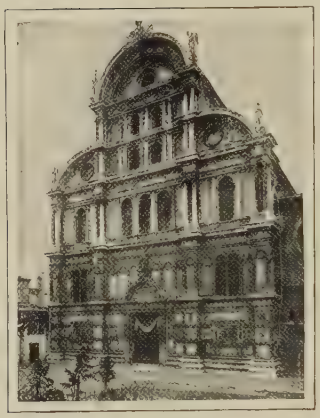

FIG. 32.—CHURCH OF S. ZACCARIA, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

star-shaped apertures, grouped in a single or double row, and making a stone lacework of exquisite delicacy.

The churches of the Gothic period are divided into three lofty aisles by rows of massive cylindrical pillars; they have a few chapels, right and left of the apse, in the transepts, but there are no chapels in the side aisles, where the altars are placed against the main walls without any recessing. The choir, in the principal churches at least, is in the central nave, taking the place of the ancient *scuola dei cantori.*

The church of S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari which was begun in 1250, was enlarged in 1330 and 1415; the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Fig. 25) again, founded in the thirteenth century, and altered in 1333, was only completed a good deal later (1390). After S. Mark's these are the two most famous churches of Venice; they have been enriched from time to time with sculpture and paintings, so that they have gradually assumed the character of magnificent art-museums.

FIG. 33.—SPIRAL STAIRCASE IN PALAZZO MINELLI, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Among the lesser but no less beautiful churches of the fourteenth century are S. Stefano (Fig. 27), begun in 1325, and S. Maria dell' Orto (1357, Fig. 26).

The special character taken on by the Gothic style in Venice is more noticeable in the civil than in the religious architecture. It was continued far into the fifteenth century, at a time when the graceful early Renaissance had established itself in other towns, and this has led to the impression that large parts of Venice are older than

they really are. The Ca' d'Oro, for example, was finished between the years 1424 and 1430, at a time when in Florence Brunelleschi was already at work at S. Lorenzo and on the chapel of the Pazzi, S. Croce. A large part of the Ducal Palace also belongs to the fifteenth century, including the Porta della Carta (Fig. 31).

FIG. 34.—MONUMENT OF THE DOGE PIETRO MOCENIGO, CHURCH OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

* * *

The Renaissance itself, in this exceptional city, assumes a characteristic aspect, due to topographical exigencies and to the spirit of the Venetians.

Just as in Rome everything has an air of grandeur, and in Florence an accent of grace, so in Venice everything inclines to magnificence. The façades of the palaces—vast and severe in Rome (Palazzo Venezia and the Cancelleria), in Florence soberly constructed of rusticated masonry with architectonic members boldly projecting (the Pitti, Riccardi, Strozzi, and Rucellai Palaces) —assumed in Venice a graceful and, as it were, feminine style of decoration; they were adorned at first with discs, mouldings, and screens of Byzantine character; then with paintings or with pateras and marble panels, surrounded with garlands, suspended from fluttering fillets, attached between balustrades and balconies and doors and windows, which gradually abandoned the pointed arch for the softer charm of round-headed openings.

FIG. 35.—PALAZZO VENDRAMIN CALERGI, GRAND CANAL, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The most famous architects of this period were Fra Giocondo, and Antonio Riccio of Verona, and the glorious family of the Solari, known by the name of Lombardi, a family that came originally from the Lake of

Lugano, and whose art was manifested in many a city of the Venetian domain. The *founder* of this family was Pietro, who died in 1515; he was succeeded by his sons Antonio and Tullio, and his nephew Sante. It must, however, be noted that not all the works hitherto attributed to this Pietro are really by him. The clock tower, in the Piazza, for example (Fig. 30) is by Coducci, an artist who has too long been denied the credit due to him as the author of various buildings, in addition to the church of S. Giovanni Grisostomo and that of S. Michele di Murano. It is now known that along with Antonio Gambello he worked on the superb façade of S. Zaccaria (Fig. 32) and, with Pietro Lombardo and Giovanni Buora, on the no less magnificent front of the Scuola di S. Marco (Fig. 29). So, too, Giovanni Candi is now acknowledged as the architect of the open spiral staircase of the Palazzo Contarini dal *Bovolo*, with its balustrades and inclined archesso arranged as to merge themselves, to the right, into the horizontal loggias.

FIG. 36.—SCUOLA DI S. ROCCO, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 37.—COURTYARD OF THE DOGE'S PALACE, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Recent research has also resulted in an increased recognition of the merits and the fame of Antonio Riccio. In the Ducal Palaces parts of the Arco Foscari must be given to him as well as the Scala dei Giganti (Fig. 37), and there is reason to

believe that we owe to him the original idea and the initial execution of that exquisite marble efflorescence—the eastern façade of the great court (Fig. 37), in the rebuilding of which, after the fire of 1483, Pietro Lombardi, Lorenzo Bregno and Antonio Bondi, known as Lo Scarpagnino, had also their share. The latter was the architect of the Scala d'Oro in the Ducal Palace, of the *Fabbriche Vecchie* at Rialto, of S. Giovanni Elemosinario, as well as the executant of the designs of other men.

FIG. 38.—PALAZZO MONTECUCCOLI, GRAND CANAL, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Bartolomeo Buono and Guglielmo Grigi owe their fame more especially to the Procuratie Vecchie (Fig. 30), the residence of the nine Procuratori, who, after the Doge, were the representatives in Venice of the highest authority and the supreme power. Buono was also the builder of the upper storey of the Campanile of S. Mark and of the Scuola di S. Rocco (Fig. 36).

But, as we have already stated, the most active and the most glorious family at this period was that of the Lombardi. The fame of Pietro, an artist of supreme taste, might well rest upon the Palazzo Vendramin Calergi (Fig. 35), and upon the sepulchral monuments of the Doges Pietro Mocenigo (Fig. 34) and Marcello, in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. But, in addition, he has given us the most exquisite work of the Venetian Renaissance, in the church of S. Maria dei Miracoli, both without and within an incomparable jewel, thanks to exquisite proportions and to the refined elegance of its decoration

FIG. 39.—CHURCH OF S. SALVATORE, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

of coloured marbles and sculpture. The church has a single nave with a barrel vault, coffered and gilded, and adorned with paintings by Girolamo Pennacchi of Treviso. The steps that ascend to the presbytery are flanked on either side by a balcony, the balustrades of which terminate in the pulpits where the gospel and the epistle are read. The square apse is crowned by a circular cupola, connected with it by means of a charming arrangement of lunettes and pendentives in the Tuscan manner.

In some of these undertakings, Pietro had as assistants his sons Antonio and Tullio, who were brought up by him and trained to the art from their childhood. And they in their turn worked harmoniously together at Padua, in the Chiesa del Santo; at Treviso, in the Cathedral; at Venice, in the Zeno chapel in St. Mark's, and on the sepulchral monuments of the Doges Vendramin (Fig. 42) and Giovanni Mocenigo in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Antonio, however, died in 1516, while still a young man, and Tullio, who survived him for sixteen years, carried on alone at Venice many other works of architecture and sculpture, completing the church of S. Salvatore (Fig. 39), which had been begun by Spavento, and working with the chisel in the Scuola di S. Marco, in the Ducal Palace, and in Ravenna, where the statue of Guidarello Guidarelli is his accepted masterpiece. In addition to his sons, Pietro trained other pupils and had other followers, so that there is some difficulty in the attribution of not a few of the buildings of Venice that bear the stamp of his school. In traversing the Grand Canal, for example, all we can say of such palaces as the Grimani, at S. Polo, the Corner Spinelli (Fig. 43), the Manzoni, now Monte-

FIG. 40.—EVE AND ADAM. (ANTONIO RICCIO.)
Doge's Palace, Venice.

cuccoli (Fig. 38), the Angaran Dario and others, is that they are "Lombardesque" in character. The School of the Lombardi was indeed widely spread over the whole of the Venetian territory; it penetrated even into some parts of Lombardy and the Emilia; the works executed by Pietro and his sons in the Venetian cities of the mainland contributed to this. To the last member of this Lombardi family, to Sante, the son of Tullio, we may attribute the Malipiero Palace, in the parish of S. Maria Formosa, and finally the Church of San Giorgio dei Greci (Fig. 45).

FIG. 41.—CHURCH OF S. MARIA DEI MIRACOLI, VENICE.

* * *

The question may be asked:—Are we to regard the artists of whom up to this point mention has been made as architects or sculptors? The fact is, they were all at times both one and the other, when indeed they were not also painters. According to their way of looking at the matter, and what is more important, in their actual practice, the work of the architect developed itself by means of sculpture, just as in that of the musician the melodic theme is worked out with the assistance of harmony. The task in hand, therefore, had its birth and came to maturity in the architect's mind—there was a perfect harmony both as concerns the constructive lines and the scheme of ornament. And this is one of the essential characters of Venetian art. In Florence the task of the

FIG. 42.—MONUMENT OF THE DOGE VENDRAMIN, CHURCH OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO, VENICE.

architect was carried out, almost without exception, apart from that of the sculptor, so that it often happened that each of them worked alone, and they only combined their forces when the first had need of the second. Hence, the buildings arose on simpler lines and the sculptors produced a greater number of *independent* works. Thus, too, it came about that while in the case of the sepulchral monuments in their churches, the Florentine sculptors gave evidence of less architectural feeling than the Venetians, so on the other hand, when the Venetians had to erect isolated statues, conscious of their inferiority to the Florentines, they had recourse to them. The tombs designed by Desiderio da Settignano, by Mino da Fiesole or by Rossellino, however marvellous in their grand simplicity, are not, on the whole, on the architectural side, comparable with the superb monuments of the Doges in SS. Giovanni e Paolo and in the Frari. On the other hand, no one of the Venetian sculptors was capable of erecting isolated works of sculpture as impressive and perfect as the "Gattamelata" of Donatello or the "Colleoni" of Andrea Verrochio (Fig. 44). The sculpture of Venice lived in conjunction with and was subordinate to the architecture from which it sprang.

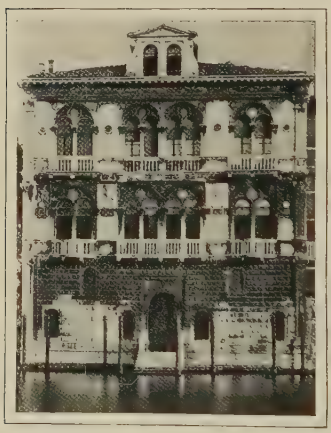

FIG. 43.—PALAZZO CORNER SPINELLI, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

We must not be thought to imply that the Venetians have never produced notable works of sculpture; yet even in the case of such works as Alessandro Leopardi's pedestals of the flag-staffs in front of S. Mark's (Fig. 46), or Antonio Riccio's *Eve and Adam*, in the Ducal Palace (Fig. 40), or the two busts in relief by Tullio Lombardi in the Archæological Museum in Venice, the artists have not been able to rise above decorative lines and effects, and in the trenchant execution of their work they have never approached that admirable harmony of form and sentiment which is to be found in the sculpture of Tuscany. Indeed, they thoroughly understood that this sculpture was superior to their own, and upon it their eyes were perpetually fixed.

Apart from this, as decorative work, let us repeat once more, the

sculpture of Venice had by the middle of the fifteenth century attained to a notable position, so that we find the work of the Venetian stonecutters and masons in request in the adjacent cities, in Padua and Verona, for instance, and soon after in more distant towns, in Milan and again in Bologna, where they found employment in the lower part of the façade and in some of the lateral windows of S. Petronio, and where the two brothers Pier Paolo and Jacobello delle Masegne have left us several sepulchral monuments of the famous lawyers of the day, to say nothing of the great reredos in S. Francesco. And indeed it must be acknowledged that in this first period the Venetian sculptors produced works that display an exceptional energy both in the forms and in the sentiment; it is, however, only too true that this did not yield all the fruits that were to be expected from it; with Jacopo della Quercia and with Donatello the palm passed to the art of Tuscany.

FIG. 44.—THE COLLEONI MONUMENT, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 45.—CHURCH OF S. GIORGIO DEI GRECI, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 46.—BASE OF FLAG-STAFF IN PIAZZA OF S. MARK, VENICE.

FIG. 47.—RIALTO BRIDGE, VENICE.

CHAPTER III

VENICE

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Sammicheli.—Sansovino and his Works in Venice.—Palladio.—Scamozzi.—A. da Ponte.—The Baroque Style.—B. Longhena.—A. Vittoria.—Decorative Sculptors.

AFTER the times of the Coducci, Riccio, and the Lombardi, the architecture of Venice attained to a greater opulence and solidity in the works of the Veronese Michele Sammicheli; it is to him that we are indebted for the massive palaces of the Grimani at S. Luca (Fig. 48), and of the Corner at S. Polo, as well as for the Castle of S. Andrea on the Lido. On his arrival at Venice Sammicheli was already famous as a military architect.

FIG. 48.—PALAZZO GRIMANI, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The study of antiquity had, however, led him to apply decorative motives even to works of a purely defensive character, works from their very nature massive and plain; so, on the other hand, the study of works of this class had led him to adopt a greater robustness of style. But the true hero of this period was Jacopo Tatti, known by the name of Sansovino, a Tuscan sculptor and architect who, after the famous sack of Rome in 1527, found

his way to Venice, and remained at work there up to the time of his death, that is to say for little less than half a century, leaving his stamp upon certain parts of the city, just as his contemporary, Michelangelo, and at a later time Bernini, left theirs upon Rome. So much did he love his work in Venice, so well pleased was he with the splendour and the beauty and life of the city, that he persistently refused every invitation from the Popes, and from princes such as the Dukes of Tuscany and of Ferrara.

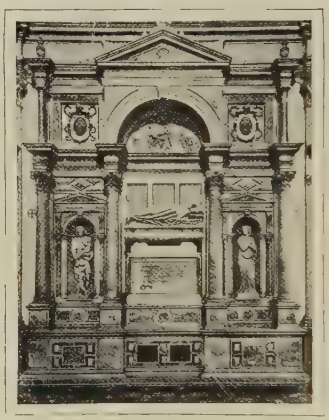

FIG. 49.—MONUMENT OF THE DOGE FRANCESCO VENIER, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Before he came to Venice he had associated with and indeed had worked together with many famous masters both in Florence and in Rome; nevertheless, he did not disdain to glean suggestions and motives from the buildings of his new domicile, and to adapt himself to its artistic traditions without sacrificing his originality. One of Sansovino's first tasks was to carry on the work at the Scuola della Misericordia, begun on the plans of Leopardi and continued by Pietro Lombardi. At the same time he applied himself to other undertakings such as the superb Palazzo Corner at S. Maurizio (now the Prefecture), and, again, the nave of S. Francesco della Vigna. To these were soon added the Mint (now the Biblioteca), and the Libreria; to be followed by the Palazzo Manin (now the Bank of Italy), the Loggetta of the Campanile, that enchanting harmony of architectural lines and of sculpture (Fig. 55), to say nothing of the monument to the bishop Livio Podacotaro

FIG. 50.—THE MINT, NOW THE LIBRARY, VENICE.

(who died in 1555) in S. Sebastiano, that of Francesco Venier (died 1556), in S. Salvatore (Fig. 49), the giants on the top of the staircase that leads from the Court of the Ducal Palace, as well as other smaller but not less beautiful works.

FIG. 51.—PALAZZO CORNER, S. MAURIZIO, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Calling to the memory such works as these, it is impossible to escape a vivid impression of admiration and wonder which is not in any degree neutralised by the cold and incongruous mass of the Fabbriche Nuove at Rialto.

Of the Zecca (the Mint, now the Biblioteca, Fig. 50) it has with good reason been said that it displays at the same time "the profuse liberality of the man who commissioned it, the purpose for which it was destined, and the solidity of structure that this purpose called for." The play of colour given by the bosses of the rusticated walls, the absence of arches and of balustrades in the two upper storeys, and the vigorous projection of the architrave mouldings, give to this building an air of combined richness and strength; on the other hand, it is richness combined with charm which distinguishes the Palazzo Corner (Fig. 51), with its arched windows, its slender double columns and its graceful balustrades poised on the string-courses. But without dwelling further upon the works of Sansovino, it may be said at once that in the Libreria (Fig. 52) he erected what is perhaps the most magnificent civil building in Italy, and that he raised the architecture of Venice

FIG. 52.—LIBRERIA VECCHIA, VENICE.

to the level which had been reached in other centres on the return to classical formulas; this he succeeded in doing without denying himself a certain happy license that gave to his artistic productions a new character and a new life, however much they may have provoked the displeasure of the great Palladio.

FIG. 53.—PALAZZO BALBI, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Palladio, the creator of a marvellous architectural world in Vicenza, in the sea-born city never succeeded in giving expression to all the moral and material elements which from this time forth claimed their place in the arts; in the façade of S. Francesco della Vigna, in the churches of S. Giorgio Maggiore and of the Redentore, and in the convent of the Carità, he has left us works which, though classically correct, are cold—works that make it perfectly clear to us why he called the Palazzo Ducale "*deforme*" (formless).

After this the artists who succeeded, as was indeed rational, put Palladio on one side and maintained the traditions of Sansovino, whose influence, like that of Michelangelo in Rome and in Florence, endured for long. Vincenzo Scamozzi from Vicenza in his magnificent Procuratie Nuove (Fig. 54) simply followed the design of the Libreria, adding a third story of his own invention, a less happy conception. To the school of Sansovino belonged again both Alessandro Vittoria, to whom we are indebted for the Palazzo Balbi (now Guggenheim, Fig. 53), and Antonio da Ponte, the architect of the Carceri

FIG. 54.—PROCURATIE NUOVE, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

(the Prison), and of the Rialto bridge (Fig. 47), although neither of these artists disdained to accept the amplifications that distinguish the beginning of the Baroque style.

FIG. 55.—LOGGETTA AT THE BASE OF THE CAMPANILE, S. MARK'S, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

* * *

Meantime the new style had asserted itself in every part of Italy, and had brought with it manifest resources of effect and pomp. It is indeed idle at the present day to persist in decrying a style that is in many respects worthy of admiration, a style rich in ingenuity and fancy, the consummate mistress of all technical accomplishment. The Middle Ages may be regarded as the winter-time of art, and the Renaissance as the spring; the Baroque Period was in very truth the summer, with its heat, its dense vegetation, its hurricanes, and, we may perhaps add, with its languor. Every part that in the fifteenth century had been soberly handled now became exaggerated; but the brain and the hand, by means of the powers that they had acquired in unison, worked together with facility, as if the heat of summer had in fact rendered them freer and more elastic. And now the pencil and the brush, tractable and facile, adapted themselves readily to all the fantastic feats that the will of the artist demanded from them. The marble took on aspects of softness, of splendour; at times it assumed, as it were, pictorial values, according as it was striated or opaque, mottled or translucent.

FIG. 56.—CHURCH OF THE SALUTE, VENICE. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Among the architects who were at work in Venice during this period, Baldassarre Longhena ranks highest. The Church of the Salute (Fig. 56) would alone suffice to entitle him to such a position; in this church every arbitrary caprice produces its effect and becomes a marvel in itself—this we see in the great spiral buttresses of the larger cupola, in the smaller cupola itself behind the great one, or again in the two bell-towers behind the former.

FIG. 57.—PALAZZO REZZONICO, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Longhena further enriched Venice with two sumptuous palaces—the Pesaro (now the Municipio, Fig. 58) and the Rezzonico (now Minerbi, Fig. 57).

To Antonio Contino we now assign the Ponte de' Sospiri (Fig. 60), a bridge that owes its fame to the legends of poetry rather than to its artistic merit.

FIG. 58.—PALAZZO PESARO, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

As in the past, many of these architects were at the same time sculptors, and remained faithful to the custom of conceiving and executing design and decoration homogeneously. But already the tendency to differentiate the two branches was making itself felt, to the great injury of art. For in this, as in other respects, art differs from science, which derives greater strength and greater security in research from specialisation.

We have mentioned Alessandro Vittoria as an architect. As a sculptor he took a position in no way inferior—rather perhaps a

FIG. 59.—CHURCH OF S. MOISE, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 60.—BRIDGE OF SIGHS, VENICE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

higher one. We may find evidence of this in his own tomb in S. Zaccaria, richly adorned with allegorical figures, again in the statue of St. Sebastian in S. Salvatore, in that of St. Jerome in the Frari (Fig. 64), and, not to mention other works, the marvellous busts in which he has succeeded in so far immortalising the character and the vitality of his models, as to rival the achievements of Titian and of Tintoretto. Other notable sculptors of the school of Sansovino were Guglielmo Bergamasco, Girolamo and Tommaso Lombardi, and Tiziano Aspetti (Fig. 63); but above them all, and taking rank beside Vittoria, stands Girolamo Campagna, with his *Pietà* in S. Giuliano (Fig. 61), and many other notable productions.

FIG. 61.—PIETÀ. (G. CAMPAGNA.)
Church of S. Giuliano, Venice.

After this the sculptors of Venice fell under the spell of Bernini; their works were not without vigour, but they showed no inclination

FIG. 62.—BRONZE GATES, LOGGETTA OF THE CAMPANILE. (A. GAI.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

to give a new development to their accepted models.

The artists most in vogue on the lagoons at this period scarcely rose above mediocrity, if we except the sculptor in wood, Andrea Brustolon (Fig. 65), who, thanks to the fancy, energy and skill shown in his works, claims a higher place; but it was a mediocrity that allowed them to produce works which it would be difficult to surpass in magnificence, when they turned from the production of isolated and pretentious statues, to the decoration and furnishing of churches and apartments with inlaid wood and gilded stucco.

FIG. 63.—S. MARTIN. (TIZIANO ASPETTI.) Museo Archeologico, Venice. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

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FIG. 64.—S. JEROME, CHURCH OF S. MARIA DEI FRARI, VENICE. (AL. VITTORIA.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 65.—SHRINE IN THE CHURCH OF S. GIACOMO. (BRUSTOLON.)

FIG. 66.—S. GEORGE KILLING THE DRAGON. (V. CARPACCIO.)
Scuola of S. Giorgio degl' Schiavoni, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER IV

VENICE

PAINTING: THE SCHOOLS OF VENICE AND MURANO

Early Painters in Venice.—Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello.—The Muranese Group.—The Bellini.—Antonello da Messina.—Alvise Vivarini.—Carpaccio.

WE now come to what is one of the greatest marvels of the world of art—the painting of Venice from Jacopo Bellini to Tiepolo. This painting is a true product of Venice and of its territory, differing in this respect from Venetian architecture and sculpture, both of which often drew fresh blood from foreign elements.

The painting of Venice, compared to that of Tuscany, developed late. In the fourteenth century Venice was little influenced by the artistic life of other regions, and even Byzantine art had no continuity in the city. The painters of the *trecento* who found employment here were without exception artists of the second or third rank.

Nevertheless, the delicate work of Paolo, who is mentioned in various records from 1332 to 1358, is interesting; still more so, that of Lorenzo Veneziano (Fig. 68), who immediately succeeded him and was advancing in his art from about 1357 to 1379; although he availed himself of the new technical processes, Lorenzo did not abandon certain Byzantine forms. Stefano was at work in a kindred style and at the same period (before and after 1380); many mediocre paintings by the followers of Paolo and Lorenzo were long attributed to this artist.

But meantime other painters appeared at Venice—Donato (painting from 1344? to 1382), who collaborated with Caterino, an artist who flourished between 1362 and 1382; and finally Giovanni da Bologna (working 1377–1389), a follower of Lorenzo; with him a certain modest Bolognese element found its way into the Lagoons (Fig. 69).

FIG. 67.—S. DONATO. ALTAR-PIECE AT MURANO.

Meantime the *New Style* was pressing in from every side. The schematic coldness of Byzantine forms, which their votaries had vainly masked under rich accessories, had now to give way to simpler and healthier ideals. The Paduan Guariento, who passed from the Byzantine school to the simplicity of the *trecento*, came to Venice; he had been invited to decorate the Sala del Maggior Consiglio (lately completed) with large frescoes, the subjects of which were not confined to sacred history (1365–1369). The work he executed there has now for the most part disappeared—what remains (the *Paradise*) is a wreck. None the less, it must be borne in mind that he recognised the impossibility of subduing the splendour-loving Venetian spirit to the severe simplicity of the Giottesque manner, a style that was never appreciated by the Venetians, and it was certainly not within the power of such men as Nicoletto Semitecolo (at work 1353–1370), Jacobello di Bonomo (flourishing about 1382, Fig. 70), Jacobello Alberegno, who was already dead in 1397, Nicolo di Pietro (at work 1394–1409, Fig. 71), and a few others of their kind, to impose the new art upon them. There was, indeed, at that time a really great Venetian artist, but he was Venetian by birth only, not in his art—Antonio, whose work we shall not discuss here; it belongs to the history of Tuscan Art. He was not understood, nor were his

FIG. 68.—ANNUNCIATION. (LORENZO VENEZIANO.) Accademia Venice.

FIG. 69.—VIRGIN AND SAINTS. (GIOVANNI DA BOLOGNA.)

Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Naya.*)

works in demand in Venice. The Venetians also remained indifferent to the innovations of Tommaso Barisini of Modena (1325–1376) at Treviso and of Altichiero and Jacopo Avanzo at Verona and Padua. These men, no longer satisfied with the formulas of the *trecento*, and seeking in nature new elements of truth and new emotions, had by this time advanced the art of painting to a notable position in the Venetian territory.

The destiny that was denied to them, of giving new life to Venetian art, fell to the lot of Gentile da Fabriano and Vittore Pisanello.

Gentile arrived in Venice in 1408, and worked in the Ducal Palace up to about 1414; Pisanello succeeded him a few years later, perhaps about 1430. The influence of Gentile was not confined to the great Pisanello. A whole group of painters, among whom the most conspicuous are Michele Giambono (1400?–1462?), Jacobello de Flor (1380?–1440—Fig. 74), Antonio Vivarini (Fig. 73) and Jacopo Bellini, were inspired by him. In the end, the last two of these artists, as their wings grew, taking independent flight, separated from one another and proceeded by different routes; the first, rich and decorative, tended to strengthen the group of artists working at Murano; the other, profound and

FIG. 70.—VIRGIN AND SAINTS. (JACOBELLO DI BONOMO.)

Church of S. Arcangelo, Romagna. (*Photo. Giovanelli.*)

illustrative, led the way to the true Venetian school.

The Muranese group of painters had long worked apart from the Venetian school. From an early period they showed certain tendencies which were, however, not developed till a later time. In the church of S. Donato at Murano there is an altarpiece dated 1310; in the central compartment there is a polychrome carved figure (Fig. 67), but the figures on either side are painted on the flat. Now this combination of sculpture and painting was continued for long, and was still practised even by Antonio and by Bartolomeo Vivarini. So, again, while in the art of Verona and Venice a foreign influence which may doubtless be traced played an unimportant part, at Murano we find a foreigner, Giovanni D'Alemagna, accepted straightway as a collaborator, one who, if he did not bring with him any great charm, in the paintings he executed in combination with Antonio, accentuated the relief and ornamental richness of the work, and exercised a predominance that reveals a character of a stronger temper than that of his colleague. Indeed we have proof of the dependent nature of Antonio (Fig. 73) in the fact that after the death of the German Giovanni, he did not seize the opportunity to recover his independence, but felt the need of combining with his brother Bartolomeo, a painter who, to the traditional elements of his art, had added certain others from the school of Francesco Squarcione

FIG. 71.—VIRGIN ENTHRONED WITH SAINTS. (NICOLO DI PIETRO.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Filippi.*)

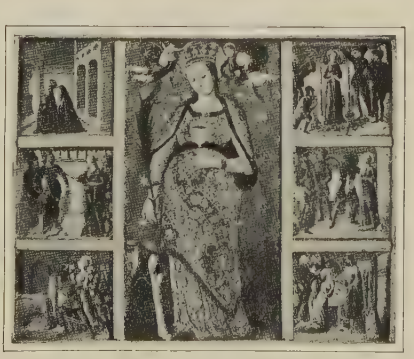

FIG. 72.—S. LUCIA. QUIRIZIO DA MURANO.
Gallery, Rovigo.

of Padua, giving an element of strength thereby to the work of the Muranese school in contrast to the art of Jacopo Bellini.

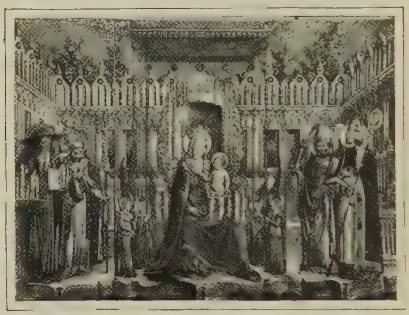

FIG. 73.—VIRGIN AND SAINTS. (ANTONIO VIVARINI.)
Accademia, Venice.

Bartolomeo Vivarini, who was born about 1425, and died perhaps in 1499, a rude and incisive painter, and Carlo Crivelli (born in Venice about 1440, died about 1494 in the Marches), a man of aristocratic temper, who combined magnificence with elegance and gaiety, were the two greatest ornaments of the Muranese group, a group which at this time, in addition to a few worthy but anonymous painters, included Quirizio da Murano (second half of the fifteenth century, Fig. 72), and Antonio da Negroponte (Fig. 76).

Crivelli, however, passed almost the whole of his life far from Venice, in the district of the Marches, and thus in contact with Umbria; and to this contact we may attribute a certain softening of his manner. In the land where he had pitched his tent, he left behind him a school which, if not of a very high class, was at any rate prolific.

Carlo Crivelli followed the current, which was later followed likewise by Lorenzo Lotto, and adorned with his charming works (Figs. 75, 77) the fair land that descends from the Apennines to the sea between the streams of the Chienti and the Tronto.

FIG. 74.—CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.
(JACOBELLO DI FLOR.)
Accademia, Venice.

It is, however, Jacopo Bellini whom we must hold to be the earliest of the heroes of the true *pittura Veneziana*. A pupil of Gentile da Fabriano, he died

in 1470, and his birth must have taken place at the end of the fourteenth century. We know indeed that in 1424 he was appointed by his father one of the executors of his will, and that in 1429 he was already married to the wife by whom he became the father of Gentile and of Nicolosa. The latter was married in 1433 to Andrea Mantegna, then a young man of twenty-two. Giovanni, the more celebrated son of Jacopo, was illegitimate.

Jacopo worked much both in Venice and on the mainland—at Padua, at Verona, at Ferrara, and other towns; but few of his pictures have survived, although of late years a most rigorous search has been made for them. Indeed, the few works that have come down to us, among which the Madonnas at Lovere and in the Uffizi (Fig. 79) are the most important, scarcely enable us to form an estimate of his merits as a *painter*. Of a *painter* we say—for proof of his culture, his fervid fantasy, and his dexterity of hand, we have in the two books of drawings, now preserved, one in the Louvre (Fig. 78), the other in the British Museum, drawings so complex and various in subject, so rich in motives and in sentiment, that they furnish occasion for research and study as do few other works of Italian art. Born in a city that, rising miraculously from the sea, appeared rather a dream than a reality, growing up there at a time when, in it, as in no other city, the arts of sundry times and of divers manners were in turn lending their aid to works of individual creation, when the Gothic arch of mediæval days was wedded to the richly adorned arch of the Renaissance and classic motives to Oriental profusion; living in close communion with artists who, like Gentile da Fabriano,

FIG. 75. VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED. (CRIVELLI.) Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 76.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (ANTONIO DA NEGROPONTE.) Church of S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

were emancipating their figures from the bonds of the *trecento*, and adorning them with a new beauty and a new richness; or, like Andrea Squarcione, were demanding from their pupils the admiration and the study of antique models; or, again, like Vittore Pisanello, were turning a scrutinising eye to the beauties of nature, to animals and to plants, Jacopo Bellini had a mind ready to receive every impression, whether realistic or fanciful. Thus it is that he has left us works which are at the same time learned, artistic and poetical,

FIG. 77.—ANNUNCIATION. (CRIVELLI.) National Gallery, London. (*Photo. Hanfstaengl.*)

It was with him that the canons of Venetian art were definitely fixed; it was with his two sons that this art rose to a complete personality and to an incomparable splendour. But between the work of Jacopo and that of his sons a new element of strength had appeared, and this was the art of Antonello da Messina, more penetrating in its research into the facts of life, and, by means of a more skilful use of oil as a vehicle, technically more solid. His religious pictures are beautiful (Fig. 80), but it is his portraits that are above all admirable in their strength of color and intensity of expression (Figs. 81, 82). Antonello was born in Messina about the year 1430; he probably made his first essays in the workshop of his father, who was a sculptor, or in that of some painter of the city. After this, according to some, we must suppose that he carried his studies to a higher level at Naples, where at this time there was a school which imitated the Flemings. By about 1456, however, he was back in

FIG. 78.—S. GEORGE—A DRAWING. (JACOPO BELLINI). Louvre, Paris. (*Photo. Giraudon.*)

his native town, and we have documentary evidence in some abundance to prove that he remained there up to 1474. In that year he made his way to Venice, and in 1476 to Milan, from which town he returned to Messina, where he died in 1479. During a long period of his life the manner of Antonello reveals the indirect influence of the Flemings and Catalans; but at length, in the *Condottiero* of the Louvre (Fig. 81) and in the *Crucifixion* at Antwerp (1475) his personality asserts itself more strongly, and we have proof of the immediate benefit that he received from the sudden plunge into the art and the surroundings of Venice. He not only himself derived benefit from this visit, but it was the source of benefit to others; and this is made manifest in the work of his followers, first among whom we must reckon Alvise Vivarini (1447–1504).

FIG. 79.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (JACOPO BELLINI.)
Uffizi, Florence. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

It is in his portraits that we have the best evidence of Alvise's admiration for Antonello; but the influence of the master would naturally not be confined to these, and in combination with an element of personal initiative, this influence before long was able to draw Alvise out of the orbit of his father and of the other painters of Murano, and subsequently to keep him also outside the orbit of the Bellini, the dominating masters of the day. This affirmation of Alvise's individuality may be dated from about the year 1480, and is manifested both in his technique and in his art. From this time forth he gave up the use of the polyptych in many compartments and of isolated figures upon a

FIG. 80.—S. JEROME. (ANTONELLO DA MESSINA.)
National Gallery, London.

FIG. 81.—PORTRAIT OF A CONDOTTIERO. (ANTONELLO DA MESSINA.)
Louvre, Paris.

gold background; his figures were united in a single scene, and arranged in harmony with imposing architecture.

To this advance in the constructive elements of a picture, Alvise Vivarini was able also to add the development of individual forms (Fig. 83), and thus to contribute his share to the great work of preparation for the final triumph of Venetian painting that was to be brought about by Palma Vecchio, by Giorgione and by Titian. Of this we have evidence in the *Resurrection* of S. Giovanni in Bragora at Venice, a picture which, although not on the whole a pleasing one, shows in the movement of the chief figure, in that of the startled soldiers, and in the expression of their faces, an important advance upon purely quattrocentist art.

FIG. 82.—PORTRAIT OF A POET. (ANTONELLO DA MESSINA.)
Museo Civico, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Alvise had several famous disciples, such as Bartolomeo Montagna, Marco Basaiti, Lorenzo Lotto, and Jacopo da Valenza.

The fact that Vittore Carpaccio was a pupil of Lazzaro Bastiani (Fig. 86) is now established, but as yet we do not know whose pupil Bastiani was. It is possible that he did not remain for long with any master, and that he gleaned the elements of his art from that of Jacopo Bellini, a much vaster field than appears at the present day, and from that of Squarcione. The birth of Bastiani must be fixed at about the year 1425, and his death at 1512. Thus we see that his life was a long one, and that he had his share in three periods of Venetian painting, of which the chief heroes were successively

Jacopo Bellini, Giovanni Bellini and Tiziano Vecelli. Although he was able to find his way out from the first of these periods, it does not appear that he even tried to attain to the third. But in the second of them he moved freely, basing his composition upon principles less fantastic than those of Jacopo. While on the one hand he promoted the adoption of these principles by his pupils, on the other he did not disdain himself to accept new ones from these same pupils, when these were of the calibre of Vittore Carpaccio. In that lavish and vivacious exponent of the life, the surroundings, and the atmosphere of Venice (Figs. 84, 85), we have an artist to whom the incidents of sacred history were but pretexts for reproducing on his canvases havens and canals, bridges, palaces, sleeping apartments, rooms devoted to study, reception halls, and costumes of every grade of citizen, from the rough mariner to the bold warrior, from the despised proletarian to the sumptuously attired lady.

FIG. 83.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (ALVISE VIVARINI.)
Church of the Redentore, Venice.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

It would appear to be now definitely ascertained that Vittore was born, not at Capodistria but in Venice, very soon after the middle of the fifteenth century, and that he died about the year 1525. But it is only at a comparatively late period of his life that we have any notices of him, or that we can identify his works. In fact, he is mentioned for the first time in 1472, and he carried out the celebrated tempera paintings in the Scuola di S. Orsola, with the story of that saint, in the last ten years of the century. This wonderful cycle was the first great work of Vittore, and remains the most important. That of S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni (Fig. 66), however, is not less beautiful, in proof of which I may cite the scene where upon a wide plain, strewn with the victims of the dread monster, St. George confronts and slays the Dragon; behind is a wide gulf of the sea, surrounded by mountains and buildings; it is a scene that both in the general composition and in the various incidents recalls the drawing of the same subject by Jacopo Bellini (Fig. 78).

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FIG. 84.—S. STEPHEN DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS. (VITTORE CARPACCIO.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 85.—FRAGMENT OF A PICTURE OF AN ENGLISH AMBASSADOR TO A MOORISH KING (VITTORE CARPACCIO.)
Gallery, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 86.—VIRGIN AND SAINTS. (L. BASTIANI.)
Church of SS. Maria e Donato, Murano.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 87.—PROCESSION IN THE PIAZZA OF S. MARK. (GENTILE BELLINI.) Gallery, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER V

VENICE

The Bellini and their School

Gentile Bellini.—Giovanni Bellini.—Marco Basaiti.—Cima da Conegliano.—Their Contemporaries and Pupils.

Gentile Bellini, like Carpaccio, was a marvellous chronicler of the life of Venice, and for both we may claim that they gave to each figure or portrait a character and a physiognomy of its own, so that it may be distinguished from its neighbours not only by its features, but by the very pose of the body, a matter often neglected even when the craft of the painter had achieved a richer and more expeditious technique than they could boast. There can indeed be no greater source of pleasure to the student of art than the careful examination not only of the whole scheme, but of every individual figure in those vast canvases (*teleri*) which Gentile painted for the Scuola Grande of St. John the Evangelist. The weary old man, with somewhat unsteady gait, is set beside the bold youth, in dandified attire, who advances with agile step; the absent-minded and preoccupied spectator stands side by side with the true devotee, absorbed in prayer; the curiosity and admiration shown by some of those in the procession is contrasted with the indifference to the ceremony that long habit has bred in the ecclesiastics and the singers. And all these figures, whose various emotions are expressed by every part of their bodies, move in a spacious atmosphere amid imposing architecture studied with loving care,

under the calm and diffused light that so well suggests space and distance. His *Procession*, painted in 1496, is of all his great works the one that best exemplifies the master's quality (Fig. 87). A merchant from Brescia, one Jacopo de Salis, at the moment when, in Venice, he is taking part in the procession in the Piazza of St. Mark, hears the sad news that his son has fallen and is mortally wounded. He falls straightway on his knees, praying to St. Mark for his recovery. Such is the subject of a work which is further remarkable for the careful rendering of costumes and buildings.

FIG. 88.—FRAGMENT OF THE PREACHING OF S. MARK. (GENTILE BELLINI.)
Brera, Milan.

Gentile, the only legitimate son of Jacopo Bellini, was born in 1429. He was a pupil of his father and helped him in some of his works. In 1469 he was knighted and created Count Palatine. Ten years later the Signoria, on the request of Mahomed II. for a good portrait painter, sent him to Constantinople, where he remained for a year. On his return to his native city he lived a life of continuous labour; and on his deathbed he entreated his brother Giovanni to finish his *Preaching of St. Mark*, now in the Brera at Milan (Fig. 88).

FIG. 89.—THE ALBERETTI MADONNA. (GIOVANNI BELLINI.)
Accademia, Venice.

Giovanni Bellini, Jacopo's natural son, who was born shortly after Gentile, was at first a pupil of his father; he then started a workshop with his brother, and when the latter went to Constantinople, took up his work at the Ducal Palace. In this he was occupied for some years (assisted latterly by several of his pupils). In the intervals of this task, he was engaged on many other works, up to the time of

FIG. 90.—PIETÀ. (GIOVANNI BELLINI.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

his death in November, 1516, at the ripe age of about eighty-five years.

The nobility of his design and the profundity of his sentiment, entitle Giovanni to a position even more commanding than that of his father and of his brother (Figs. 89, 90, 92, and 93). In the matter of giving character to his creations, Gentile was no doubt stronger, but he was at times not a little rough and wanting in refinement. Giovanni, on the other hand, transfigured his plebeian models with his own nobility, creating dignified types which were destined to be admired and imitated by a whole generation of artists.

Giovanni, following in this his old father, whether in search of rest or in need of new sources of artistic satisfaction, loved to pass from the rendering of religious subjects to the treatment of mythological and allegorical themes. Of these we have examples of incomparable charm in the five little pictures which have been brought together in the Academy at Venice and also in the so-called allegory of the *Souls in Paradise*, a work founded upon a French poem of the fourteenth century, now in the Uffizi at Florence (Fig. 93). From a close adherence to the teaching of his father, he passed on to imitate the work of Andrea Mantegna, a training that resulted in an advance in the sciences of modelling and of perspective; nor did he disdain, shortly after this, to profit by study of the technical methods he noted in the works of Antonello da Messina. But, at length, giving free course

FIG. 91.—THE SONS OF ZEBEDEE. (MARCO BASAITI.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

to his native talent, he produced those glorious masterpieces of grace and vigour, of beauty and of sentiment, expressed in warm and brilliant colour, which heralded the splendours of Giorgione and of Titian. Where can we find a more admirable work than the triptych in the Frari? It is one of those superhuman manifestations of genius which diffuse a beneficent sense of sweetness and of felicity. The magnificence of the colour, the harmony of the decorative motives, above all the sweet and pensive ideality of the Virgin, the beauty of the boy angels, the austere tranquillity of the saints, all these elements work in unison to complete the prodigy. Every figure is instinct with reality, but virtue has filled them with solemnity, and tenderness has rendered them beautiful and worthy of heaven (Fig. 92).

FIG. 92. VIRGIN AND SAINTS. (GIOVANNI BELLINI.)
Church of the Frari, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 93.—SOULS IN PARADISE. (GIOVANNI BELLINI.)
Uffizi, Florence. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Some few among contemporary painters remained faithful to the teachings of Alvise Vivarini and of Bastiani, but the greater number were followers of Giovanni Bellini.

Of these artists the greatest, as we shall see, was Bartolomeo Montagna. Marco Basaiti (1460?–1525?) who came of a Dalmatian or Albanian family, and whose masterpiece, *The Sons of Zebedee* (Fig. 91), is in the Academy at Venice, was a more limited artist, but his works have the merit of a certain limpidity of colour, and elegance of treatment. An affinity to Basaiti is visible in the work of Girolamo Moceto, who lived from 1450 to 1520;

FIG. 94.—S. PETER MARTYR WITH OTHER SAINTS. (CIMA DA CONEGLIANO.) Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

but he remained to the end a frigid artist, although distinctly a greater man than Jacopo da Valenza, a painter who executed many works at Serravalle di Vittorio, but who was condemned by his narrow range to constant repetition of a few conventional types.

The art of Gian Battista Cima da Conegliano was not derived directly from Alvise; it was through Bartolomeo Montagna, his real teacher, that the influence of the Muranese master was transmitted to him. He was born at Conegliano in 1459, and remained there to about his thirtieth year; after this he passed on to Vicenza. About the year 1492 he fixed his abode at Venice, and worked there for more than twenty years. Finally, in 1516, he returned to his native place, and there in the following year he died. To his respect for the art of Alvise and of Montagna, Cima, and indeed all the artists of his circle, added an evident admiration for the manner of Giovanni Bellini. At the same time, he was able to preserve a brilliant personal type. His figures are dignified, his colour clear and rich, and in the execution of his works he displays an ideal refinement (Figs. 94, 95). He does not, however, always achieve beauty in his figures, especially in his women. On the other hand, in his landscape and in his architectural background, Cima attains to a high degree of perfection. There is a delicious charm in the first, and in the accurate and well drawn buildings of the second he scrupulously renders the different

FIG. 95.—TOBIAS WITH THE ANGEL AND SAINTS. (CIMA DA CONEGLIANO.) Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

kinds of marble; this may be seen above all in the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple,* at Dresden, a picture which both in the general scheme and in the details heralds the celebrated work of Titian. Nor should we neglect to state that it was apparently Cima who directed the first steps of Sebastiano del Piombo; but if this was so, it must be added that Sebastiano very soon applied himself to the study, first of the fascinating forms of Giorgione (Fig. 104), and then of the powerful ones of Michelangelo.

FIG. 96.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (BENEDETTO DIANA.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Giovanni Mansueti (1470?–1530) Girolamo di Santacroce (d. 1556), Benedetto Rusconi or Diana (Fig. 96), who was living in 1525, and of whom mention is first made in 1482, and finally Jacopo Bello belong, on the other hand, like Carpaccio, to the school of Bastiani. Diana, we know, even worked in conjunction with him, and on the occasion of a competition for a certain *gonfalone,*[1] was preferred to Carpaccio!

FIG 97.—AN ANGEL. (P. M. PENNACCHI.)
Accademia, Venice.

But the master who perhaps surpassed them all in the fascination that he exercised over a whole troop of pupils and in the wide field of his influence was Giovanni Bellini. We have already noted that many a painter who had been trained in other schools did not escape this influence; we may therefore imagine how great must have been the number of his pupils and followers, and how long the *sentiment* of his art must have endured, seeing that it may be recognised, even long after his day, in the works of painters, working both near and far from

[1] A processional banner.

FIG. 98.—SAINTS. (LATTANZIO DA RIMINI.)
Mezzoldo, near Bergamo.
(*Photo. Taramelli.*)

Venice, both famous and obscure artists, many of whom felt the influence at second or even third hand. Such was the dominion exercised by his school that it endured for half a century and could claim faithful disciples even at a time when forms of an amplitude and vigour quite new to art held sway over almost the whole of Italy. Among the older members of his school we must here note Francesco Tacconi of Cremona, Lattanzio da Rimini (Fig. 98), and Marco Marziale (Fig. 99)—all still at work in the first decade of the sixteenth century; Jacopo de' Barbari (1470–1515, Fig. 100) and Pier Maria Pennacchi from the Treviso district (1464–1515), who also felt the spell of Carpaccio (Fig. 97). Then comes a second group, all the members of which were at work later than the year 1521, and which reckoned among its members Marco Belli (d. 1523), Andrea Previtali (d. 1525), and Vincenzo Catena (d. 1531), not to mention Francesco Bissolo (Fig. 105) and Bartolomeo Veneto, both of whom lived into the second half of the century. Among those who remained the most faithful to the master were Rondinelli (Fig. 102) and Bissolo, who followed him even in the types of their figures, a strange thing in the case of the latter artist whose life—he lived till 1554—was prolonged to a time when the art of his country had assumed a distinctly Baroque character. It was by his portraits

FIG. 99.—THE SUPPER AT EMMAUS.
(MARCO MARZIALE.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

that Bartolomeo Veneto acquired his fame, as may be seen by the examples in the National Gallery of Rome, in the Melzi d'Eril (Fig. 103), and Crespi Collections at Milan, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge and in the London National Gallery. Marco Marziale did not remain faithful to Bellini; he culled impressions from other schools of painting, some of them of distant origin, from the school of Dürer above all. In like manner, Dürer and Bellini influenced in turn the art of Jacopo de' Barbari. Vincenzo Catena, Rocco Marconi (Fig. 101), Andrea Previtali and, above all, Pellegrino da San Daniele were not deaf to the inspiring voice of Giorgione, the greatest of the pupils of Giovanni Bellini. Finally, to those who, beginning as disciples of Giovanni Bellini, became the admirers and imitators of Giorgione, we may add Lorenzo de Luzo, born at Feltre, who settled at Venice in 1519, and died there in 1526. A picture by him in the Berlin Museum is dated 1511. He must not be confused with Morto da Feltre, nor must we perpetuate the error which has given him the name of *Pietro Luzzo.*

FIG. 100.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (JACOPO DEI BARBARI.)
Gallery, Berlin. (*Photo. Hanfstaengl.*)

FIG. 101.—JESUS BETWEEN THE APOSTLES PETER AND ANDREW. (ROCCO MARCONI.)
Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 102.—THE MIRACLE OF GALLA PLACIDIA.
(NICOLO RONDINELLI.)
Brera, Milan.

FIG. 103.—THE GOLDSMITH'S DAUGHTER.
(BARTOLOMEO VENETO.)
Casa Melzi d' Eril, Milan.

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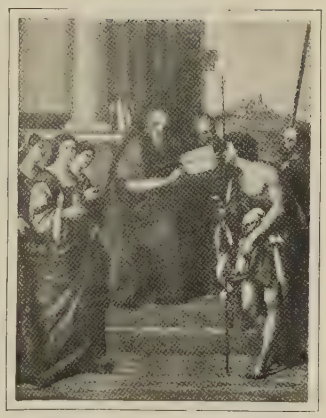

FIG. 104.—S. CHRYSOSTOM AND OTHER SAINTS. (SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO.)
Church of S. Crisostomo, Venice.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 105.—THE PRESENTATION. (F. BISSOLO.)
Accademia, Venice.

FIG. 106.—THE FEAST IN THE HOUSE OF LEVI. (P. VERONESE.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER VI

VENICE

The Painting of the Sixteenth Century from Giorgione to Jacopo Tintoretto

Giorgione.—Palma Vecchio.—The Venetian Type.—Titian.—Disciples of Palma Vecchio.—Bonifazio.—Cariani.—Lotto.—Pordenone.—The Bassani.—Paolo Veronese.—Tintoretto.

The details of Giorgione's life, work, and artistic personality have not so far been very clearly established, but they are not so uncertain as to justify the rhetorical phrase "*he is little better than a myth.*"

It is known that he was born at Castelfranco, perhaps about the year 1478, and that he died of the plague in Venice in 1510. Certain works may be definitely attributed to him, such as the altar-piece of Castelfranco, the *Ordeal by Fire* at Florence, *The Three Philosophers* at Vienna and the *Storm* of the Casa Giovanelli (Fig. 107); we have documents relating to other pictures; we can see how he detached himself from Giovanni Bellini and became the artistic father of Titian. In the case of other painters, this would suffice; but the greatness of the man stirs our curiosity, and this explains the phrase quoted above. Giorgione may be compared to Masaccio—in his case, too, a short life and a scanty series of works sufficed to bring about a sudden change in the art of painting.

Like other artists of his day he loved a life of pleasure and the sound of music. "Although he was by birth of humble origin, yet all his life through he was without exception courteous and of honest commerce. He was brought up in Venice, and he ever found

delight in amorous pursuits; so much was he enamoured of the sound of the lute, and in his day he played and sang so divinely that he was often in request for musical parties and assemblages of people of noble birth." Thus writes Vasari, who, with much simplicity, precision, and elegance, goes on to say: "He was endowed by nature with such a happy spirit that, in oil and in fresco, he produced renderings of life and other things of such charm, so blended together and graduated in the shadows that it came about that many of those who were then reckoned excellent painters confessed that he was born to put life into his figures and to counterfeit the freshness of living flesh in a way approached by no one else, not only in Venice but in any land."

To the high technical quality of his work—the glowing colour and the magic tone—and to his refined feeling for beauty, Giorgione added a marvellous versatility, which enabled him to execute portraits and landscapes, sacred, mythological, and allegorical pictures, as well as historical and *genre* subjects, with equal novelty and success; the whole ennobled by a high poetical afflatus. This is indeed the supreme merit of his work, and this it is that provides a source of delight not for the eye only, but for the soul of the spectator.

FIG. 107.—THE STORM. (GIORGIONE.)
Giovanelli Gallery, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The composition of the picture at Castelfranco (Fig. 108), is still simple; but there is already a greater nobility in the figures, and the landscape plays an important part, not only spacially, but in the sentiment of the work. The Virgin seated on a lofty throne, set against the sky, is one of the most lovely creations of Italian art for *serenity*, for sweetness, and for beauty of line.

To this new birth of Venetian painting, when once it had found this triumphant route, two other great artists immediately contributed:—Jacopo Palma the elder, and Tiziano Vecellio, both, like Giorgione, natives of the mainland and painters of magnificent landscape, who loved to work in the open and saw all objects and bodies bathed in air and light. An artist who strove towards

the same goal by different means was Sebastiano Luciani (1485–1547), called towards the end of his life del Piombo (of the Seal), from the office he held at the Papal Court. He would perhaps have become the greatest among the heirs of Giorgione, if his fortunes had not led him too soon to Rome, where he was enthralled by the grandeur of Michelangelo. Hence his pictures in the Venetian manner are few in number; the most interesting is that in S. Giovanni Crisostomo at Venice (Fig. 104). At Rome he attained to an imposing grandeur of composition and a dramatic vigour of sentiment, but he lost the vivacity of Venetian colour in his preoccupation with light and shade.

FIG. 108.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (GIORGIONE.)
Church of Castelfranco, Venetia.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Jacopo Negretti, who was born at Serinalta in the district of Bergamo about the year 1480, is generally known as Palma Vecchio to distinguish him from his grand-nephew of the same name. He had not the supreme genius of Giorgione, but his luminosity and the grandeur of his forms are truly admirable (Fig. 109). He, too, was of the school of Giovanni Bellini, but he soon adopted a less formal composition, marked by great variety of subject, and warm and powerful colour. His pictures are scattered throughout Europe, but the most famous and most typical, the *Santa Barbara* (Fig. 110) is still preserved in the church of S. Maria Formosa in Venice. In this work the type of Venetian female beauty is finally attained. The sun-warmed flesh, the voluptuous splendour of the velvety eyes, the robust vigour of this type became the feminine ideal of Venetian painting, showing that from the beginning this art possessed that fund of health which prolonged its life through the course of several centuries.

It is, indeed, no longer a saint that we see, but a magnificent woman who has grown to maturity among the splendours of Venice —a woman who desires to love and to be loved.

FIG. 109.—CHRIST AND THE CANAANITISH WOMAN.
(PALMA VECCHIO.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

In no other country has there ever existed an art that can boast of a greater wealth of blooming types, or of greater magnificence in colour, draperies, and ornaments.

The blonde, ripe beauty of the Venetian ladies gave the painters of the day a spectacle of sovereign loveliness and unprecedented luxury; they in return portrayed them in their immortal works, and assured them an eternity of admiration.

Among the crowds that filled the public places and the canals the artists of the day wandered in turn: the Bellini, Antonello da Messina, Bastiani, Carpaccio, Mansueti, the Vivarini, Crivelli, Gian Battista Cima; then Jacopo Palma, Giorgione, Lorenzo Lotto, Sebastiano del Piombo, already captured by the new forms of art, Titian, Tintoretto, Paris Bordone, Bonifazio, Paolo Veronese, and a hundred more. It was thus that their hearts and their minds drew vigour from the field of life. The whole body politic combined to fuse æsthetic elements into an artistic type, from the young cavalier with his garments sprucely adapted to his figure, to the austere senator wrapped in the ample folds of his richly coloured toga; from the sumptuous dame for whose adornment whole patrimonies were squandered, to the woman of the people faithful to the traditional costume. And moving among these there were Moors bought in Africa, Circassian slave-girls—to own one of these was the ambition of every great lady—Turks with heavy turbans, and Persians with tall caps who came to barter their goods; Africans who sold drugs and strange

FIG. 110.—S. BARBARA.
(PALMA VECCHIO.)
Church of S. Maria Formosa, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

animals from foreign parts, Flemings and Hungarians ready to sing and to play the rhapsodies of their native land.

Indeed, this populace of sailors and soldiers created marvels which, had we read of them in poems of unbridled fantasy or in the "Arabian Nights," would have seemed the outcome of a splendid but baseless imagination or a magnificent dream.

FIG. 111.—THE CONCERT. (GIORGIONE OR TITIAN.) Pitti Gallery, Florence. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

And if, even to-day, the eye, however greedy for beauty, for light, for colour, has no need to ask for more, think what the city must have appeared to Bellini, to Titian, to Paolo! There these great artists gathered up their impressions with an uninterrupted but often unconscious industry, and in the wide field covered by their work reproduced the life of their day, potent recorders of a world fated to disappear in weakness and indifference.

Of all these men Titian was the most complete; he it was who concentrated the multiple pictorial gifts of the Venetian school; he made himself the interpreter of a greater total of emotions than any of his predecessors, and justly earned the title of "the universal confidant of nature." Titian was born at Pieve di Cadore, between the years 1477 and 1480, and died on the 26th of August, 1576; he therefore lived, working almost continuously, for nearly a century. His feeling for truth and beauty, his love for his art, and his extraordinary facility of execution, combined to produce one of the most prodigious artists the world has seen.

Of him it has been excellently said that, while on the one hand he combined the qualities of Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, and Jacopo Palma, on the other he prepared the way for Tintoretto, Paolo, and Tiepolo. That is to say, that while he inherited the progress of the previous half century, the influence of his art was felt up to the last hours of Venetian painting. Whether dealing with sacred or profane subjects his work was equally marvellous; as a landscape painter he was an innovator, as a portraitist he was unsurpassed (Fig. 114); in all that he did there was something new

and the mark of an absolutely distinct personality. The superlative characteristic of Titian is the harmony, the divine enchantment, he gives to all his creations. Things that in reality were fragmentary, detached, and circumscribed, he, on his canvas, brings together, completes, and endows with the felicity of perfection. His genius tended, above all, to simplification. We note with amazement the synthetic simplicity to which he reduces everything. Thus it is that nothing presents any difficulty to him. Whether it be a worldly or a celestial vision, an ideal of beauty, or, again, a robust and typical actuality, he is prepared to deal with them all, and the striking contrasts thus created are brought into harmony by the fascinating potency of his art.

He began by painting with broad masses of colour juxtaposed, but afterwards he took to a more vigorous method, piling one colour

FIG. 112.—SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE. (TITIAN.) Borghese Gallery, Rome.

above the other and fusing them by means of "*touches, blows,* and *strokes*" of the brush, or at times, as Palma Giovane relates, of the fingers.

During his first period Titian's method was in complete conformity with that of Giorgione. We have proof of this in the fact that with regard to one or two pictures, we are in doubt to which of the two artists the work is to be attributed. In the case of the celebrated "*Concert*" in the Pitti (Fig. 111), no definitive agreement has been arrived at. This is a work which, although distinctly a *genre* piece, soars to *lyrical* heights by the profundity or rather the intensity of the sentiment. The man who is seated at the harpsichord, as he moves his fingers over the keys, draws from the chords the notes and the harmonies that are sounding in his soul. He is absorbed in the music and is wandering through the realms of infinity, when

FIG. 113.—ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. (TITIAN.)
Accademia, Venice.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

he is accosted by the monk with the viola, who warns him that the time is come for them to play together. He snatches the other from the sweet dreams in which he is wrapped with regret, and places his hand upon his shoulder with a hesitating gesture. The player turns round with an unconscious movement, and gazes with shining eyes at his friend, but in thought he seems still to follow the harmonies that pour forth from the instrument.

As belonging to the Giorgionesque period, among many other works, we may mention the *Sacred and Profane Love* in the Borghese Gallery (Fig. 112), and the *Jacopo Pesaro in Prayer before St. Peter* in the Gallery at Antwerp. We must then pass on to point out that a new development of his art began with the gigantic *Assumption* (Fig. 113) which, at the age of about forty, he painted for the church of the Frari. Here we find novelties both in composition and in execution. The Apostles who stand below are thrown forward by the pure force of the colour, while the semi-garland of angels takes its place in a second plane by virtue of a vaporous tint, a chromatic perspective. As for the sentiment of the work, we have no longer the quiet and peaceful contemplation of the earlier "Glories," for every figure here gives proof of life in various ways; one is wrapped in wonder, another cries out, another is talking, others beckon or sing or play on an instrument or pray. The picture, at first, did not give satisfaction either to the friars or

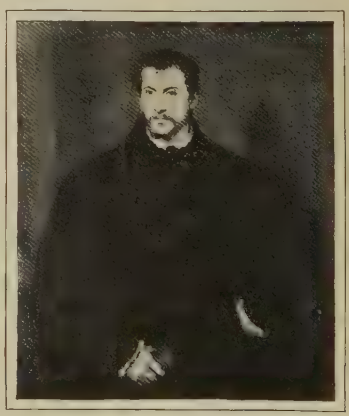

FIG. 114.—PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN. (TITIAN.)
Pitti Gallery, Florence. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

to the faithful generally. So we are told by Lodovico Dolce, and we can well understand the cause; it was too violent and too unexpected a departure from traditional treatment. Titian suffered the fate of all innovators. The average man is unwilling to recognise or to confess that he fails to understand a work that soars above the common. He protests against those who are not content to remain at his intellectual level; it is only when, after much labour, the new ideas have overcome the general reluctance to accept new forms that he is disposed to proclaim their excellence.

FIG. 115.—DIVES AND LAZARUS. (BONIFAZIO VERONESE.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

With Titian, indeed, the art of Venice took on a definite character. In after days we shall find markedly personal notes in the works of Tintoretto, of Paolo Veronese, and others down to the time of Tiepolo. But the forms, the composition, the technique, the method, all proceed from him, just as was the case with the Italian opera, which, when fixed once for all by Gioacchino Rossini, remained substantially as he conceived it in spite of the phases that it assumed in the hands of Vincenzo Bellini, of Gaetano Donizetti, and of Giuseppe Verdi.

FIG. 116.—THE FINDING OF THE CROSS.
(G. CARIANI.)
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Bonifazio Veronese, Cariani, and Lotto were pupils or followers for the most part of Palma Vecchio.

Bonifazio dei Pitati was born in Verona in the year 1487; at the early age of eighteen he betook himself to Venice. There he

FIG. 117.—VIRGIN AND SAINTS. (LORENZO LOTTO.)
Church of S. Bernardino, Bergamo.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

married the niece of Antonio Palma, his collaborator in more than one picture, who was born at Serinalta about 1514 and died in Venice after 1575. While in Venice Antonio for many years worked together with a certain Battista di Giacomo.

The mediocre works of these and other second-rate artists have been attributed to Bonifazio II and Bonifazio III, imaginary names which have, however, served to group together a large class of pictures based on the art of Bonifazio dei Pitati.

To return to Pitati: we must recognise in him an abundant and fervid feeling for composition; he was one of the gayest and most brilliant colourists of the whole glorious school and an incomparable chronicler of the Venetian life of the day, the biblical episodes that he made the subjects of his pictures being merely pretexts for the rendering of this life. In the *Finding of Moses* in the Brera we have a joyous party of ladies, cavaliers, singers, pages, and buffoons, assembled in the country on a fine September day. In the Parable of *Dives and Lazarus* (Fig. 115), we are introduced to the villa of a haughty patrician of Venice who is idling among courtesans and musicians.

The work of Giovanni Busi, called Cariani, who came from Fuipiano in the Bergamo country (1480?–1550?), is less distinguished and less sumptuous, although pleasant rosy tints pre-

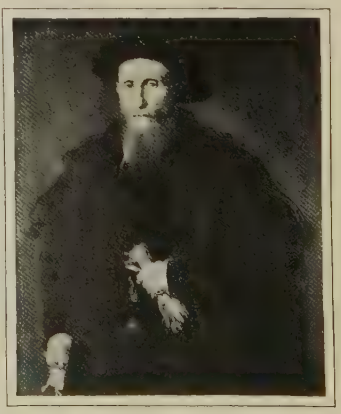

FIG. 118.—PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN. (LORENZO LOTTO.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

dominate in his works (Fig. 116). He assisted Palma in many of his tasks, and he finished the *Adoration of the Magi,* now in the Brera. In his portraits (Fig. 119), he attained to a nobility which we do not find in his sacred subjects.

FIG. 119.—PORTRAIT OF G. B. DA CARAVAGGIO. (G. CARIANI.)
Accademia, Carrara, Bergamo. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

We must give a higher place to Lorenzo Lotto, his contemporary, who was born in Venice (1480?–1556), not, as was long supposed, at Bergamo or Treviso. Lotto was at first a follower of Alvise Vivarini, but later on, being brought into contact with the work of Giorgione and Palma Vecchio, he amplified his style. He did not, however, sacrifice a delightful individuality which he owed to the brilliancy of his vibrating colour; this was all his own, though it may show some fortuitous likeness to that of Correggio. He had a habit, not always a happy one, of arranging his figures in oblique lines, but we can never weary of the felicitous intensity of expression which breathes the sweet, kindly and devout spirit of the artist. Frescoes by him are to be found at Trescore Balneario, in the oratory of the Conti Suardi, and again, on either side of the Onigo monument in the Church of St. Nicolas at Treviso. His pictures are scattered throughout Europe; they are, however, most numerous at Bergamo (Fig. 117), and in the Marches, where he lived for many years, and where he died (at Loreto) in 1556. Given to prayer and to the solitude of the cloister, the work that he has left us is confined to pictures of sacred subjects, instinct with ascetic melancholy, and to portraits, some full of a sweet domestic feeling, others, again, notable for their austerity, as, for instance, the Bishop Bernardo de' Rossi in the Museum at Naples and the *Man with the Red Beard* (Fig. 118), in the Brera, works of the highest order. He has left us no records of the dissipated, gay, or luxurious life of his fellow citizens, and in this respect, too, he may be noted as a solitary exception.

Far otherwise was it with Paris Bordone of Treviso (1500–1571), a copious and unequal painter who passed through the school of Titian, but whose temperament inclined rather to the art of Giorgione and of Palma. He has treated a hundred different subjects with brilliant versatility but without much depth of feeling, and was content with superficial effects.

In his colour he is strong, but occasionally harsh; his drawing is courageous, but at times incorrect. In his drapery he carried his love for crumpled folds so far as to degenerate into mannerism. Nevertheless, he flashed out at times as a great painter, in his portraits and, above all, in his great canvas in the Gallery at Venice (Fig. 120), which is his masterpiece, and one of the most interesting works in the whole range of Venetian art. It represents the gondolier delivering to the Doge the ring that he had received from St. Mark. The Apostle had appeared to him at night time, and had insisted upon being carried out to sea in company with two other saints to encounter a ship full of threatening demons. As will be seen, the picture has the singular merit of a new subject. Neither the number and the varied character of the figures introduced, nor the splendour of the vestments and of the architecture, in any way distract attention from the two central figures who play the principal part in the episode. In fine, in the light and the colour, we have an approximation to the handling of Titian.

FIG. 120.—THE RING OF S. MARK HANDED TO THE DOGE. (PARIS BORDONE.)
Accademia, Venice.

Giovanni Antonio de' Corticelli, known as Pordenone (1483–1530), was a man of austere and imposing spirit; his paintings speak to us rather of a violence of character that did not hesitate at bloodshed, than of the *affability* and *courtesy* for which he is praised by Vasari. The energy of his nature is manifested even more strongly

in his frescoes than in his pictures; we have admirable examples of the former in the Church of the Madonna di Campagna at Piacenza, at Pordenone, at Cremona, and where they are less generally known, at Cortemaggiore. Pordenone was a pupil of Alvise Vivarini, and his talent ripened in the warm atmosphere of Giorgione and of Titian. He in his turn taught and influenced some other painters. Among these we may mention Bernardino Licinio (at work 1511–1549), whose family came from Bergamo, a painter who found greater attractions in *genre* subjects and in portrait painting (Fig. 122) than in sacred art.

FIG. 121.—VIRGIN AND SAINTS. (G. SAVOLDO.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The Brescian painter, Girolamo Savoldo (1480?–1550?) takes his place between the old and the new schools of Venice. From the new school (from Giorgione, Palma and Lotto) he derived the vigour of his colour and of his modelling; from the old (from Bonsignori and Bellini) composure and simplicity, qualities which are both nowhere better exemplified than in the great altar-piece in the Brera (Fig. 121). Andrea Meldolla, on the other hand, called Schiavone (the Sclavonian) from his birth at Sebenico (1522–1582), took an opposite course, passing from the vigorous style of Giorgione and of Titian, to the minute prettiness of Parmigianino.

FIG. 122.—HIS BROTHER'S FAMILY. (B. LICINIO.)
Borghese Gallery, Rome. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The family of the Da Ponte, like that of the Bellini, the Carracci and the Nasocchi, came originally from Bassano, a town fruitful in painters. Thence they took the name by which they are generally known.

The first was Francesco (1470?–1540); but he belongs to the

old school; he was more especially a follower of Montagna. His son Jacopo was the best known member of the Bassano family.

FIG. 123.—THE PAINTER AND HIS FAMILY. (JACOPO BASSANO.)
Uffizi, Florence. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Jacopo was trained in the school of Bonifazio dei Pitati; by the time of his death in 1592, at the age of over eighty, he had displayed his ardent vivacity in an infinite number of pictures, in which sacred motives often served merely as a pretext for the rendering of scenes from the fields and the farmhouse (Fig. 123). His sons Francesco (1548–1591), Giovanni Battista (1553–1613), Leandro (1558–1623) and Girolamo (1560–1622), followed on the same lines with unequal talent and varying success; Francesco was happy in his composition (Fig. 124) and Leandro painted some good portraits; the other two brothers did little more than fill the world with reproductions of their father's subjects.

But if we now turn to the greater men, we at once encounter two artists who towered above the rest by virtue of their productivity, their wealth of invention, and their rapidity of execution. These were Paolo Cagliari, generally known as Paolo Veronese, and Jacopo Robusti, called Tintoretto.

FIG. 124.—THE POPE PRESENTS THE SWORD TO THE DOGE. (FR. BASSANO.)
Doge's Palace, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

"You are the ornament of Venetian painting" exclaimed Titian to Paolo, and while, a little later, Annibale Carracci proclaimed him "the first man in the world," Guido Reni declared that if it had

rested with him to choose his artistic personality he would have liked to be Paolo: exaggerated praise, perhaps, but such as to suggest the greatness of the master.

To the dramatic violence of his contemporary Tintoretto, Paolo opposed the seduction of an art that was eminently calm, serene, and magnificent. For this reason it was more in harmony with the sumptuous and joyous nature of the Venetians of his day. He gathered up whatever he could find of delectable or of brilliant in nature or in man, in costumes or in art. Luxury, as evidenced in the magnificence of buildings, of garments, of hangings, in the representation of concerts, of festivals, of processions or of banquets, beauty, as manifested in exquisite and voluptuous creatures, all love and smiles—all these the master knew how to bring into harmony, bathing them in an envelope of transparent colour; in veiled or opaque tones he showed no less originality than in his sunny high lights, vibrant with joy and vigour. Thus he gave a new palette to art, the decorative value of which is still maintained, for nothing has so far been found to surpass it in clearness and nobility.

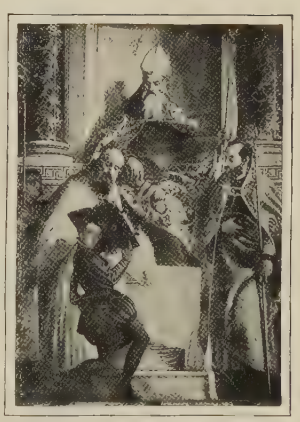

FIG. 125.—S. ANTHONY ENTHRONED BETWEEN SS. CORNELIUS AND CYPRIAN. (PAOLO VERONESE.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 126.—ABUNDANCE. (PAOLO VERONESE.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Paolo was born in Verona in 1528, and was the pupil of Antonio Badile, a painter who in the course of his long life (1480–1560) freed himself from the trammels of the antique style, and achieved a combination of frankness and suavity in the use of his brush. In the matter of composition, however,

Paolo undoubtedly felt the influence of Titian, and this especially in the early pictures of sacred subjects which he painted in Venice (Fig. 125); but before long he was able to move freely and to assert his complete individuality, both when working on independent canvases and when adapting his thoughts and his design to the limits of a decorative scheme. The quadripartite decoration with *Hercules and Ceres* (Fig. 126), painted for the Hall of the Magistrate of the *Biade* (the corn magazines; the picture is now in the Academy), and, again, the *Triumph* or the *Apotheosis of Venice* (Fig. 127) upon the ceiling of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Ducal Palace, are sufficient evidence of his decorative gifts and the opulence of his genius.

FIG. 127. THE APOTHEOSIS OF VENICE. (PAOLO VERONESE.)
Doge's Palace, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

There was one class of subject in which he specially delighted, namely, banquets. He gives us the banquets of his own day under the guise of *The Supper at the House of Simon the Pharisee*, the *Feast in the House of Levi* (in the Brera and in the Academy at Venice, Fig. 106), the *Marriage Feast at Cana* (in the Louvre and in the Dresden Gallery), and the *Communion of St. Gregory* (at Monte Berico, near Vicenza). These are enriched with grand architectural backgrounds, gorgeous costumes, and costly vessels, intermingled with animals and buffoons, details which aroused the suspicions of the Tribunal of the Holy Office, who saw in them an affront to the Christian religion.

In the work of Tintoretto, who was born ten years before Paolo, and who died in 1594, that is to say six years after him, we find elements that are of an entirely different, not to say antagonistic, character. The clear and diffused colouring of Paolo in Tintoretto becomes a gloom irradiated by gleams of light, as if the scene in every case had been painted in a thunderstorm; the composed dignity of Veronese is exchanged for the restlessness and tumult

of a painter who seized his motives with a rapidity that was literally instantaneous; the richness and the display of the one is replaced by the ruggedness and the scornful impatience of the other. With Paolo the Virgin of the Annunciation is a lady who receives Gabriel graciously among gardens and colonnades; with Jacopo she is a woman of the people, lodged in the house of a carpenter amid humble surroundings, who is annoyed at the apparition. In Paolo's *Nativity,* we have a brilliant court scene, where the thatched hut is barely indicated amid the ruins of a temple; in Jacopo's a mysterious event takes place in the hay loft of a dilapidated stable. The *Last Supper,* in the great canvas of Paolo, is set between lofty and luminous colonnades, on tables covered with fine linen and adorned with rich vases and goblets and plates; with Jacopo it becomes an austere assembly round a board supported on trestles covered with a coarse cloth and modest utensils.

FIG. 128.—CHRIST BEFORE PILATE. (TINTORETTO.)
Scuola di S. Rocco, Venice.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Vasari's description of Tintoretto is very apposite when he says "that his was the most terrific brain that had ever occupied itself with painting . . . that he was extravagant, capricious, rapid, and resolute," and he continues: "He has sometimes in place of finished pictures left us sketches dashed in with such energy that the strokes of the brush appear to be the result of accident or of rage rather than of design or of judgment."

Tintoretto could not endure to be a moment without employment. If he was tired of painting he stopped for a moment and, seizing some instrument of music, began to play on it. "*He must be working whatever was the case,*" whether he was paid well or ill, and even if he was actually out of pocket himself. The members of the Company of S. Rocco, in whose *Scuola* he has left us, together with an imposing cycle of paintings (Fig. 128), the most terrific of *Crucifixions,* had asked him to make a preliminary sketch, before applying himself to so great an undertaking. Jacopo, having set up a huge canvas,

straightway painted the scene. "For this," continued Vasari, "they were provoked with him, and told him that what they had asked for was sketches, and that they had not yet given him a definite commission for the work. To which he replied that this was his method of planning his work, and that sketches and models should be of such a nature that no one should be deceived by them." He ended by saying, that if the work did not please them, and they were not willing to pay for it, they might do with it as they liked, and that he made them a present of it.

FIG. 129.—THE MIRACLE OF S. MARK. (TINTORETTO.) Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

No wonder, then, that he shared the fate of Titian, in the case of the *Assumption*, and that his audacious and impetuous works were not understood; in fact, we know that the members of the Company of St. Mark held such long discussions over his masterpiece that in great indignation he carried it back to his studio, and could only be persuaded to give it up again after public opinion had changed and was entirely on his side. The work in question was the *Miracle of St. Mark* (Fig. 129) in the Academy, now so greatly admired for the tumultuous life of the figures and for the sunlight that inundates it. In this picture Burckhardt declares that the limits of Venetian painting have been overstepped; Taine points out that here instantaneous movement had been fixed on the canvas in a manner only rivalled by Rubens, and Charles Blanc thought it the supreme achievement of Venetian colour.

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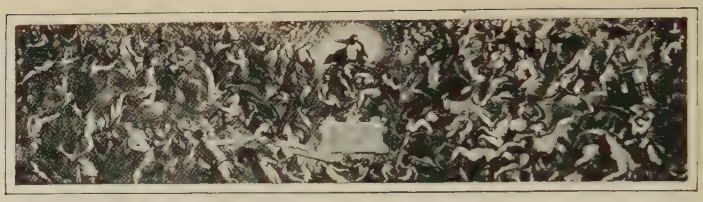

FIG. 130.—LAST JUDGMENT. (PALMA GIOVINE.)
Doge's Palace, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER VII

VENICE

PAINTING FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Interregnum.—Disciples of Tintoretto.—Bernardo Strozzi.—Carl Loth.—A. Varotari.—Foreign Artists and Conflicting Tendencies.—Lazzarini.—Piazzetta.—Rosalba Carriera.—Canaletto.—Guardi.—Bellotto, Tiepolo, Canova, and the neo-classic Revival.—Romanticism.

UPON the death of Paolo Veronese and of Tintoretto there followed a period of mediocrity in Venetian art, which we should prefer to call an interregnum rather than a time of decadence, seeing that fresh triumphs were in store in the eighteenth century. In Venice the painters of the seventeenth century were held in the bonds of tradition, so that they yielded less than others to the influence either of the violent naturalism of Caravaggio or the eclecticism of the Bolognese artists which at this time inundated the other provinces of Italy. Indeed, the art of these latter, as regards both their composition and the sobriety of their simple decoration, must have appeared to the Venetians, accustomed as they were to the splendours of their native masters, rude and poverty-stricken, not to say boorish; and this was doubtless why they preferred to such work the vast and crowded canvases of Domenico Robusti, the son of Tintoretto (1562–1637), of Jacopo Negretti, known as Palma Giovine, and of many of the disciples and followers both of these artists and of Paolo Veronese. But the work of these Venetians was no longer animated by the touch of genius; the splendour of the scenes depicted often degenerated into a heavy ostentation; the variety and abundance of the composition gave place to mere confusion and rapidity of execution, a haste that outran the speed of the artist's ideas. By this we do not mean to say that the art of Venice had lost all value—in fact we have been careful to avoid the use of the term decadence. For it retained its amplitude,

its richness, its courage, germs whence sprang the painting of Piazzetta and of Tiepolo.

Domenico Tintoretto (Fig. 131) remained the only strong disciple of the great Tintoretto; for when in 1575 Teotocopulo, known as Il Greco (Fig. 132), went to Spain, where he died in 1625, he broke with the old tradition, to adopt a fantastic and glittering individual style.

Jacopo Negretti, known as Palma Giovine (1544–1628), was the grand-nephew of Palma Vecchio; he was the son of Giulia (a niece of Bonifazio Veronese) and of the Antonio Palma already mentioned. He learned to paint from his father, and applied himself to copying the works of Giorgione and of Titian; he was then taken to Urbino and to Rome, where he remained for eight years studying Michelangelo, Raphael, and Polidoro. Having adopted the canons of Roman art, it was natural that when on his return to Venice he was compared with Paolo and with Tintoretto, his style should appear languid and cold, and he be neglected. He improved his position by attaching himself to Alessandro Vittoria, who, when he was not treated with sufficient deference by Paolo and Tintoretto, employed Palma in many of the works on which he was engaged. Under the influence of his surroundings, Palma gradually forsook his Roman maxims and returned to the imposing and vivacious art of Venice (Figs. 130 and 134). Unfortunately he had not the capacity for lofty flights, so that with him extravagance often took the place of grandeur and negligence of zeal for his work. The freshness of his colour, however, a certain decorative sense and, above all, the beauty of his portraits of the Doges, brought him many admirers, followers, and disciples. Among these it is usual to reckon Marco Boschini (1630–1678), who was also a poet and the author of the *Carta del Navegar pittoresco;* but Boschini at the time of Palma's death was not more than fifteen years old. However, among those who followed

FIG. 131.—MARY MAGDALEN.
(DOMENICO ROBUSTI.)
Capitol Gallery, Rome. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 132.—CHRIST HEALING THE BLIND MAN. (D. TEOTOCOPULO, IL GRECO.)
Gallery, Parma. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

him, more or less directly or indirectly, must be reckoned several successful artists, of whom the most notable was Andrea Micheli, known as Il Vicentino (1539–1614), an imaginative and sincere painter. The large canvases by him in the Ducal Palace, *The Sea-fight by the Curzolari Islands,* and the *Landing of Henry III* close, not altogether unworthily, the grand cycle of Venetian paintings.

Pietro Damini da Castelfranco (1592–died of the plague 1631), a vigorous colourist, often imitated and copied the works of the great men of the *cinquecento;* and the same may be said of Pietro Muttoni, known as Della Vecchia (1605–1678), the author of many cartoons for the mosaics of St. Mark's, among them the *Carrying away* and the *Reception at Venice* of the body of the Saint. He made it his aim to imitate the colour of Giorgione, and succeeded when he refrained from exaggeration, as in certain heads of warriors.

As may be readily understood, the grand Venetian art of Giorgione and of Tintoretto was too rich in powerful examples to make it either possible or desirable that lesser and later men should be moulded by a single influence. The most that can be said is that in certain cases preferences were shown. Carlo Ridolfi of Lonigo (1594–1658), more successful as a historian of painting than as an artist, admired Tintoretto (Fig. 137); Titian had a faithful follower in Giovanni Contarini (1549–1606), who has left us vigorous works

FIG. 133.—BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN. (G. CONTARINI.)
Church of the Holy Apostles, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

in the *Battle of Verona*, of the Ducal Palace, and in the *Birth of the Virgin* in the SS. Apostoli (Fig. 133); and finally, passing over many others, Tiberio Tinelli (1586–1638) inclined to Leandro Bassano. But Tinelli devoted himself with success to portraiture also (Fig. 136), attaching himself ultimately to Vandyke.

FIG. 134. ALLEGORY OF THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAI. (PALMA GIOVINE.)
Doge's Palace, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Bernardo Strozzi, known as Il Cappucino or as Il Prete Genovese, brought the large and robust manner of Rubens with him from Genoa. Rejecting all sombre elements, he became the brilliant and cheerful painter of such pictures as the *St. Sebastian* in S. Benedetto, and the *Guardian Angel* of the SS. Apostoli. A powerful portraitist, Strozzi worked in rivalry with the greatest of the Flemings and the Spaniards. So much was he admired in Venice, that, together with Il Padovanino, he was entrusted with the completion of the decoration of the Libreria. Nicolò Renieri of Maubeuge, who lived for long in Venice—we have records of him as an old man up to 1641—also great in portraiture, and Jan Lys, who was born at Oldenburg, and died in Venice in 1629, a vivacious painter of the nude, introduced new elements of Flemish and Dutch technique. The latter, above all, with his famous *S. Jerome* in the church of the Tolentini, played an important part in the revival of Venetian painting in the eighteenth century. Moreover, the sombre naturalism of Michelangelo da Caravaggio and the grave and accomplished eclecticism of the Bolognese painters attempted at

FIG. 135.—SS. GEORGE, JEROME, AND CLEMENT. (M. PONZONE.)
Church of S. Maria dell' Orto, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

times to make their way into the Lagoons and to conquer Venice as they had conquered all the rest of Italy.

Perhaps the best among the many gloomy *Naturalisti* was the German Carl Loth (1632–1698), who came from Munich; in his day he was held in great esteem and received it is said a hundred pieces of Hungarian gold for his fine *Nativity* in S. Silvestro. Luca Giordano, too, has left examples of his executive powers in Venice, in the Salute and in the decoration of many of the palaces. He had many followers in his arrogant, daring style, the most important of whom was Federico Crivelli (fl. 1663–1690), who in his turn was the master of Sebastiano Ricci.

FIG. 136.—PORTRAIT OF LUIGI MOLIN. (T. TINELLI.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

But in spite of the many new and disturbing currents that from time to time broke into local tradition, the Venetians on the whole remained strangers to these tentative changes, if not hostile to them; the only, or almost the only, exception is the solitary group which included Sebastiano Bombelli (1625–died after 1716). Bombelli became an ardent follower of Guercino, but returned a penitent to Paolo, a master who, together with Tintoretto, seems sooner or later to have captivated all the foreigners who made a long sojourn or settled among the wonders of Venice.

In the middle of the seventeenth century there died at Venice an artist distinguished above his contemporaries by his greater versatility and knowledge and by his definite return to Titian. This was Alessandro Varotari, born at Padua—hence the name of Padovanino by which he was known—the son of a Veronese painter called Dario who had settled in that town. It has been said of him that there was not a subject treated by Titian which he was incapable of handling satisfactorily; the pleasing themes with grace (Fig. 138), the strong ones with vigour, and the heroic ones with grandeur. Certain it is that the variety, the vivacity, and the knowledge exhibited in his works—nowhere better seen than in his *S. Liberale Freeing the Condemned Prisoners* in the church of the

Carmini, and in his *Marriage Feast at Cana* in the Academy—appeared to revive the pictorial faculties of the past in Venice and to prepare those of the future. It is indeed impossible to deny that in the slender elegance of his forms, the softness of his execution, the varied foreshortening of figures and architectural elements, we have in the work of Padovanino the first hint of the new growth which, grafted on to the main trunk of the *cinquecento*, was destined, a hundred years later, to produce the marvels of Tiepolo's art.

FIG. 137.—ADORATION OF THE MAGI. (C. RIDOLFI.)
Church of S. Giovanni Elemosinario, Venice.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Something of the sort flashes out at times, timidly indeed in the works of his pupils. It is even more evident in the work of Pietro Liberi of Padua (1605–1687) whose fine *Battle of the Dardanelles* is in the Ducal Palace. Liberi assimilated impressions received from the works of Raphael and Michelangelo in Rome, and from those of Correggio in Parma, without injury to the unity of his own productions, the colour of which, thanks to the cheerful, although mannered, use of the red tints with which he outlined and shaded his graceful figures, was greatly admired. His elegance was inherited by Nicolo Bambini (1651–1736), who was, however, but a poor colourist. And not only was the ground prepared in Venice by these men and by Padovanino for the brilliant palette of the eighteenth century painters, but we find in their works hints that the futility of mythological subjects was beginning to make itself felt.

FIG. 138.—TRIUMPH OF VENUS. (PADOVANINO.)
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

It would be a thankless task to follow up the series of mediocre painters of the day. The number of foreign artists who flocked to Venice, and who attempted either to impose their own style or to adopt that of the great Venetian painters, together with the alternate subjugation and resistance of the native artists, led to a confusion which found expression in the indeterminate character of an unequal and mediocre art. From this confusion, such men as Antonio Zanchi of Este (1639–1722) barely emerged, upheld by their faith in the great masters of former days. Zanchi was a sombre painter, but firm and effective in his drawing and composition (Fig. 139); in conjunction with Pietro Negri he painted on the staircase of the Scuola di S. Rocco a series of impressive allegories founded on the plague of 1630. With him we may class Antonio Fumiani (1643–1710), whose work on the ceiling of S. Pantaleone (Fig. 140) is imposing and imaginative in spite of its dark and foggy tones; Andrea Celesti (1637–1706), the charm of whose colour is but a tradition in consequence of his employing a bad oily priming which has blackened his paintings (Fig. 141), and, finally, Niccolò Cassana (1659–1714)—member of a family rich in artists—a painter of portraits and of bacchanalian scenes, notable for their warmth of colour.

FIG. 139.—THE PLAGUE OF 1630. (A. ZANCHI.) Scuola di San Rocco, Venice.

FIG. 140.—FRAGMENT OF CEILING-DECORATION, CHURCH OF S. PANTALEONE, VENICE. (A. FUMIANI.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

But with these men the period of storm and stress ended, and

calm was restored; the art of Venice took on a splendour of new light and of new grace; and it was Gregorio Lazzarini (1654–1740) who built the bridge from the art of the seventeenth to the glorious Venetian art of the eighteenth century; his palette is generally vigorous and cheerful, his drawing graceful and refined, but his greatest quality is his feeling for composition, vivacious yet free from those contortions and mannerisms into which so many of his predecessors had fallen; indeed, we are at times conscious of a certain touch of academic coldness, as in his *The Charity of S. Lorenzo Giustiniani.*

FIG. 141.—THE GOLDEN CALF. (A. CELESTI.)
Doge's Palace, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Lazzarini had many pupils, among whom, is it said, was Tiepolo himself, who, however, had other and more efficient precursors among artists of rich imagination and splendid daring. Sebastiano Ricci (1660–1734) from Belluno was a painter born, gifted with a facile brush, who was able to absorb and to conciliate in his work the most opposite tendencies. In Venice he was a pupil of Cervelli, then in Lombardy an imitator of the fantastic Magnasco, in Bologna of Cignani; he gleaned with great ability from the old Venetian masters and also from Correggio; he was rich and varied in his colour, especially after having seen on his travels the Flemish and Dutch masters. In Venice he painted a great number of large canvases, many of which have been lost; at Schönbrunn, near Vienna, and at Hampton Court, he left a series of sumptuous decorations that are still held in honour. He was also the author of the cartoon for the fine mosaic—

FIG. 142.—PIUS V AND SAINTS. (SEB. RICCI.)
Church of the Gesuati, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The Magistrates of Venice worshipping the Body of St. Mark —on the façade of the basilica. Gian Battista Pittoni (1687–1767), easy and distinguished in style, shows a notable originality in the rapid and instantaneous movements of his figures, which is not without a touch of affectation; there is a tastefulness in his colour that finds favour at the present day (Fig. 143). His much-praised work, *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, long supposed to have been lost, is now to be seen in the sacristy of Santo Stefano. Jacopo Amigoni, a vivacious but rather commonplace painter (1675–1752), can be better studied abroad than in Venice, for he worked long in Germany, in London, and in Spain, where he died in the service of the Court.

FIG. 143. MARY MAGDALEN. (G. B. PITTONI.)

There were numerous painters in Venice at the beginning of the eighteenth century who were capable of producing vast and imposing theatrical compositions upon canvases of enormous size with considerable decorative effect. We may mention Antonio Molinari (1665—still alive in 1727) whose *Triumph of the Holy Ark*, formerly in the church of the Corpus Domini, but now in the hall of the Libreria, and another grandiose composition in S. Pantaleone still find admirers; Gaspari Diziani (1690–1763), a pupil of Ricci, who was renowned also as a scene painter, and finally Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini (1675–1741), who was a guest at many of the Courts of Europe, and in Paris painted the famous Salle du Mississipi with more than a hundred figures arranged in groups. But it was not so much from the wise and moderate Lazzarini, or from Ricci and the other exuberant painters whom we have mentioned, as from the vigorous draughtsmanship of Piazzetta, that Tiepolo derived definite instruction; he it was who restored the old consistency and strength to the Venetian painting of the eighteenth century.

Gian Battista Piazzetta (1682–1754) worked at first as a sculptor, more especially as a wood carver, under his father Jacopo. When he took to painting, he formed himself, above all,

on the model of the Bolognese, Giuseppe Crespi; it was from him that he derived that love for violent contrasts of light and shade which he exaggerated still further, diffusing a wealth of silvery tints in place of the golden tones beloved of the old Venetians (Fig. 144). In his drawings, in his engravings, and in his smaller pictures, he displays an elegant fancy; nor in the invention and colouring of his large compositions was he so weak as some would have us believe; his powers are well shown in the *Beheading of the Baptist* at Padua and in the *St. Dominic in Glory* in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice.

FIG. 144.—THE FORTUNE-TELLER. (G. B. PIAZZETTA.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Giuseppe Angeli (1709–1798) the painter of a graceful *Immaculate Conception* in the Frari, the Dalmatian, Federico Bencovich, whose fine work in the church of S. Sebastian was formerly attributed to Piazzetta, and Domenico Maggiotto (1729–1798, Fig. 146), were artists who were followers of Piazzetta down to the time when Tiepolo drew them within his orbit, whence, too, the following painters issued:—Fabio Canal (1707–1767) and, later on, Giovanni Battista Canal (1747–1825), both of whom painted frescoes in many a church in the province of Treviso, and many others, of whom it may be said that they lost more and more of strength and beauty in proportion as they diverged from Gian Battista Tiepolo, the true begetter of the light; that his sons are greatly superior to their contemporaries, is a consequence of their close adherence to their father. These sons were Giovanni Domenico (1727–1804) and Lorenzo (1736–1772); the vigorous works of

FIG. 145.—PORTRAIT OF ENRICHETTA DI MODENA. (ROSALBA CARRIERA.)
Uffizi, Florence. (*Photo. Giani.*)

the first are often attributed to his father, while the latter acquired fame as a notable engraver.

At the time when the great decorative art of G. B. Tiepolo was in full vigour—of this we shall speak later on—other branches of painting were flourishing in Venice. In the first place, the art of portraiture, an art in which the above-mentioned Sebastiano Bombelli of Udine showed himself a forcible innovator. He was the master of the famous Bergamasque, Vittore Ghislandi (1655–1743), known also as Fra Paoletto, or Il Frate da Galgario, from the monastery in his native home where he lived. A man of taste, an innovator, and a fine technician, he in his turn successfully taught the art of portraiture to Bartolomeo Nazzari, who also came from Bergamo (1689–1758).

FIG. 144.—PAINTING. (D. MAGGIOTTO.)
Accademia, Venice.

A special and charming branch of art is represented by the pastel portraits of Rosalba Carriera (1675–1758), which became the fashion through half Europe, thanks to their vaporous grace (Fig. 145). The portraits of Pietro Longhi, again (1702–1785), are lifelike and spontaneous; but those of his son Alessandro (1733–1813), often full lengths, are more dignified, as for example, that fascinating one of a Venetian noble or sea captain in the museum at Padua. Nor is there any falling off in this branch of art when we come to Ludovico Gallina (1752–1787) and to Domenico Pellegrini (1759–1840), one of whose portraits, representing the celebrated engraver Francesco Bartolozzi, has even been attributed to Romney and to Reynolds. Pietro Longhi has indeed a manner all his own in pictures of *genre* subjects, and this has gained him a general appreciation as the chronicler of the intimate life of Venice, which he has reproduced in an extensive series of interesting little pictures instinct with the very spirit of Goldoni's comedy (Fig. 147).

Even greater importance must be assigned to the wonderful school of landscape painters of this period, whose productions are now so much sought after and command such high prices. They

are no less remarkable for charm of colour than for beauty of drawing and for the science shown in the perspective.

These artists had a stronger tradition to support them than could be found in other lands. As far back as the time of Jacopo Bellini we have evidence of a keen love for landscape and for architectural backgrounds, and this takes a remarkable development in the hands of his son Gentile, of Carpaccio, and of others who have preserved for us the aspect of the squares, the streets, the churches and the canals of Venice with an accuracy that is quite modern. An imaginative element was introduced by Giorgione and Titian, together with a large and poetical rendering, while with Paolo Veronese the architectural motives are amplified, and indeed through the whole of the seventeenth century they are continuously enriched with new effects. Apart from the architectural perspectives which are found more or less in all the old schools, it is undeniable that in the rest of Italy the early painters, with rare exceptions, were little given to reproducing in their pictures close renderings of the cities around them. It was not the older men of the new school—Luca Carlevaris di Udine (1665–1718, Fig. 148), Michele Marieschi (d. 1743) and Antonio Visentini, (1688–1782), all of whom worked with the needle as well as with the brush—who have gained the most celebrity, although there is much freedom and charm in their work. Their fame has been obscured by that wonderful triad—Canal, Guardi, and Bellotto.

FIG. 147.—THE DANCING-MASTER.
(P. LONGHI.)
Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Antonio Canal, known as Canaletto (1697–1768), the son of a certain Bernardo, a scene painter, devoted himself from his early youth to landscape and perspective. He went to Rome and there drew the monuments of antiquity, but on his return to Venice he applied himself hand and soul to the rendering of all that was beautiful and picturesque in the city, showing it in those changing lights, peculiar to Venice, in which the water reflects and fuses the colours of the works of man and of nature. The two pictures by him in the Casa Sormani in Milan (Fig. 149) and the *Scuola di*

San Rocco in the London National Gallery, would suffice to establish the fame of any painter. The brilliant sunshine, the delicate clouds, and the light shadows of his pictures, are absolutely true to nature.

FIG. 148.—VIEW OF VENICE. (L. CARLEVARIS.)
National Gallery, Rome.

Francesco Guardi (1712–1793), on the other hand, had a personal note all his own, an opalescent quality comparable to mother-of-pearl. Everything under his brush becomes iridescent and animated (Fig. 150). He did not need the accuracy of Canal, nor the still greater precision of Bellotto to ensure his mastery. Light mists, dark storm-clouds behind buildings glancing in the sunlight, figures lost in obscurity or emphasised by rays of light, all these impart an enchanting variety to his pictures. He did not hesitate to illuminate only two or three arches of a long portico, or to light up one single angle of a palace, just as if the position of his shadows was determined by the changing clouds rather than by the surrounding buildings. To opaque gold succeed tints of silver, to these a series of iridescent hues, so that his work takes on the air of some product of the ocean, such as sea-shells. His little figures—his *macchiette*—are large in style, their cloaks flutter in the wind, and the oblique lines of their bodies are full of elegance, superior indeed to those of all other painters in this *genre*.

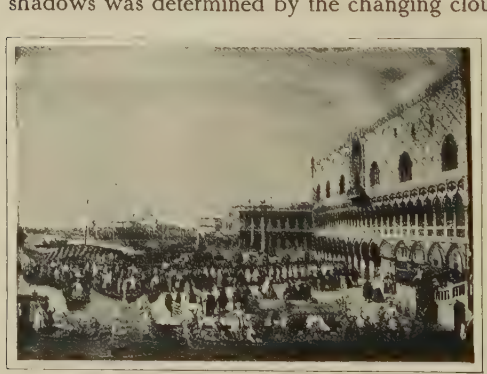

FIG. 149.—AN AMBASSADOR GOING TO A FIRST AUDIENCE AT THE DOGE'S PALACE. (CANALETTO.)
Palazzo Sormani, Milan.

Bernardo Bellotto (1720–1780) stands on a lower level than Canal or Guardi, but is nevertheless a most able artist; indeed, as a painter of perspective views he is stronger and more accurate than they, but for that very reason he does not equal them in poetical feeling. His architecture is drawn with rigorous attention (Fig. 151): every column and pilaster is accurately outlined in vivid light, and this exactness extends even to the distant buildings, sacrificing much of the transparence that we find in Canal. As to his figures, they are rendered with a rich, frank and straightforward touch.

To sum up, Bellotto's perspectives are graphic, Canal's atmospheric and Guardi's emotional.

The success of their works incited many imitators; thus there was an abundant production that in time degenerated to a mechanical output of the poorest description.

FIG. 150. GRAND CANAL, VENICE. (F. GUARDI.) Gallery, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

In his fanciful landscapes and seapieces Marco Ricci (1676–1729), the nephew of Sebastiano, showed some originality, and later on Francesco Zuccarelli (1704–1788) met with the favour of the public. Zuccarelli was by birth a Tuscan who learned his art at Venice, whence he passed on to London, where his fresh and transparent landscapes with elegant figures in the French style gained him a fortune. Here he found a ready sale for his pictures, and sometimes for those of Bellotto and others. Giuseppe Zais (d. 1784) was a follower of his and, even in the nineteenth century, Canaletto had a last disciple in Ippolito Caffi (1809–1866), who was killed at the battle of Lissa.

Venice produced other fine spirits who learnt their art in the school of architectural landscape of the city. For example, Gian Battista Piranesi (1720–1778), who left his native land to seek his fortune in Rome. There he became famous as an engraver, and he has left us a series of plates in which the mighty remains of Roman antiquity are rendered with surprising strength and profundity.

Marco Pitteri (1703–1786) was a distinguished etcher, whose

needle gave spirit and life to the works even of mediocre men; he also etched heads after Piazzetta. There was, further, at the time in Venice a whole school of talented engravers from whom the Florentine Bartolozzi learnt much before his departure for London; this school produced Teodoro Viero (1740–1800) and Giovanni Volpato (1733–1803), both from Bassano, as well as other masters. Francesco Novelli (1776–1836) is notable for the study he devoted to the works of Mantegna and of Rembrandt, whose engravings he imitated and copied very cleverly. Finally, as an engraver, Antonio Maria Zanetti (1720–1778) was something a good deal better than the amateur that he held himself to be. A man of the most refined taste, he holds a supreme position as a critic of Venetian painting.

FIG. 151.—PIAZZETTA, VENICE. (BELLOTTO.)
National Gallery, Rome.

But the commanding genius of the Venetian, nay, of the Italian eighteenth century, the genius in whom the great art of Venice seems to be summed up and to give forth its dying radiance, was Gian Battista Tiepolo (1693–1770). As a colourist he derives from Paolo Veronese; the boldness of his chiaroscuro he learnt from Piazzetta; the type of his decorative conception may be found already in the wall painters and the decorative artists of the seventeenth and the beginning of his own century, in some of the Venetians we have already mentioned, and in Andrea Pozzo of Trent (1642–1709) who in the perspective treatment of his architectural and figure subjects attains to an extraordinarily high level. But all this was amplified by Tiepolo, and handled with a taste and a vivacity that was peculiar to him, although, no doubt, he was influenced by the striking effects produced by the so-called theatrical machinery so marvellous in his time. He possessed a prodigious rapidity of imagination and of execution, as well as the rare faculty of conceiving his composition at once as a pictorial effect. The conception, to put it briefly, was not in his case at the beginning a purely intellectual one, which had to receive material clothing by means of careful research, but it sprang up complete in his brain

as a plastic representation. Hence arises his amazing facility in creating stupendous contrasts of light and shade, of subdued and lively tones, contrasts that appear, and indeed are in his case, spontaneous, instinctively felt and immediate, and which sometimes suffice to give a dramatic sentiment to the action. His fascinating colour is another of his great qualities. The colour of Paolo (which impressed him more than any other) is clearer, and his lighting is more diffused and equal; but Tiepolo strengthened his by means of contrasts. What he effected with the aid of chiaroscuro he effected by colour also. It is the same process and the same system of contrasts. The energy given to the high lights by alternation with shadows is won for the vivid tints by the juxtaposition of low and subdued tones.

The amount of work accomplished by Tiepolo is prodigious. He decorated villas, palaces, and churches; he painted altar-pieces and cabinet pictures. He was equally at home with sacred (Figs. 152, 153), historical, allegorical, mythological, or humorous subjects. He was in request with the rulers of the whole of Europe; it was as if his contemporaries had a presentiment that Tiepolo was the last of the great men, and were therefore eager to secure some example of his work. From Venice and from the Venetian territory he passed to Würzburg, from Milan to Madrid, where, pitted against the new classicism of Raphael Mengs, he secured the last triumph of Baroque art.

FIG. 152. VIRGIN ENTHRONED WITH SAINTS. (TIEPOLO.)
Church of the Gesuati, Venice.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

And thus the splendour of his painting illuminates the last days of Venice, already sinking to decay, and seems to console her noble pride with a final ray of splendour. And thus death comes upon her still bathed in light, and her political destiny seems to follow her with steady breath. Then follow decay and solitude, with the wrack of the sea upon every step and with grey lichen upon the statues and the walls; to quote the words of Alfred Meissner, every sound is now a sigh and a groan repressed over the whole expanse of the sea; but "her treasures

of art live for ever, and her palaces still shine like gigantic sheets of silver inscribed with many a heroic deed."

* * *

After the death of Tiepolo, his joyous and ardent visions gradually lost their vigour in the hands of his imitators. And now the phalanx of the classicists, urged on by Raphael Mengs (who, unabashed by his defeat at Madrid, was thirsting for revenge), and upheld by the criticism of Winkelmann and the art of David, of Battoni, and of Appiani, proclaimed the necessity of a return to the antique. Confronted by this well-trained army, the old school of decorative artists threw down their arms and fled.

Yet, even so, it was from the Venetian territory that there came a great artist, indeed the greatest at the time in all Italy—Antonio Canova. He was born at Possagno in 1757 of a family of artists, and died at Venice in 1822; by his contemporaries he was saluted as "the prince of sculpture and the reformer of the arts." And whatever may be the judgment that modern artists pronounce upon him, it is, and always will be, a fact that in style and in execution he made an important advance upon his predecessors. The impression made by the sepulchral monuments of Clement XIII (Carlo Rezzonico), and of Clement XIV (Lorenzo Ganganelli) was such as to inaugurate a new artistic era. Canova was left an orphan when three years old, but he found protectors who supported him during his studies. His first attempts at sculpture procured him not only appreciation, but new patrons. Henceforth fortune favoured him; sovereigns and Popes overwhelmed him with commissions, with gold, and with honours; poets proclaimed him *divine* (Fig. 155).

FIG. 153.—CHRIST BEARING HIS CROSS. (TIEPOLO.) Church of S. Alvise, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

An Academy of the Fine Arts founded at Venice in the first half of the eighteenth century, was strengthened first under the rule

of Napoleon and under that of Austria, and acquired an authority that may be called official. From the modest *pallazzina* by S. Moise (now the office of the harbour master) it passed to the great buildings of the Carità brotherhood; these were altered and enlarged with new rooms to allow of the exhibition of pictures taken from the churches and from the *Scuole.* Under the presidency of Leopoldo Cicognara the Academy took upon itself the work of teaching, profiting by the collection of casts that had been brought together by Farsetti and purchased by Francis II. The architect Gian Antonio Selva (1753–1819), the painter Teodoro Matteini (1754–1831), who came from Tuscany and from the school of Battoni, the sculptor Angelo Pizzi, were the artists in vogue at the moment. But this movement did not last long; it was a phase of art that had no spontaneous birth in harmony with the prevailing sentiment of society, nor had it anything in common with the political and patriotic life of the day; it had its origin in the imitation of the antique, and its prime motive was to put an end, once for all, to the domination of the Baroque, a style which, after a life of two centuries and a half, had become not only wearisome, but nauseous.

FIG. 154. THE KISS. (F. HAYEZ.)
Museum of the Castello, Milan.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

In fact, before the expiration of forty years a complete change came about. Romanticism triumphed easily over the cold and mediocre spirits that sought warmth amid the smouldering ashes of the Academy. And again it was Venice which in this new period gave to Italian art its most eminent and powerful artist, Francesco Hayez (1791–1882), a painter who started as a classicist, but soon changed his course, yielding to the current with a facility characteristic of an eager and malleable nature. In 1812 he exhibited his *Laocoön* at Milan; eight years later he struck out a new path with his *Carmagnola*; in 1823 with his *Kiss* (Fig. 154) he definitely adapted himself to the new current; this work is a prominent example of that *emotional tumult,* the expression of which was the great aim of the art of the time. Hayez, however, took up his abode at Milan, and

on the Lagoons Romanticism had but a feeble following, so that but few names have survived of the scanty phalanx.

With Antonio Zona (1810–1892) and with Pompeo Molmenti (1819–1894) there was some attempt to throw off Romanticism; but the attempt was soon abandoned, and the art of the day, held in the traditional bonds, remained conventional, if not always in the choice of subject, at least in the way the subject was felt and in the cold and polished technique with which it was handled. But once Venice had regained her liberty, and had become united in spirit with the life of the rest of Italy, her artists came once more to see with independent eyes the splendour of their city, the grace and the strength of the inhabitants; with the Veronese Vicenzo Cabianca (1827–1902) and with Giacomo Favretto (1849–1887) there was a renewal of life, splendour and truth. Favretto (Fig. 156) was a joyous artist with something of the spirit of Goldoni; he was more akin to the painters who preceded the neo-classicists, to Francesco Guardi in particular, than might appear at the first glance.

FIG. 155.—PAULINE BORGHESE. (CANOVA.)
Borghese Gallery, Rome. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

And now once more we have in Venice the chief centre of pictorial activity that Italy can boast, a fact to which the highly interesting international art exhibitions held there every two years bear witness.

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FIG. 156.—PROMENADE IN THE PIAZZETTA. (G. FAVRETTO.)
Gallery of Modern Art, Venice.

FIG. 157.—ADORATION OF THE MAGI. (MANTEGNA.)
Uffizi, Florence. (*Photo. Jacquirer.*)

CHAPTER VIII

PADUA AND MANTUA

Padua, a seat of learning in the Middle Ages.—Giotto and the Chapel of the Arena.—Venetian Artists at Padua.—Guariento.—Squarcione and his School.—Mantegna.—Donatello and his Disciples at Padua.—Mantegna at Mantua.—The Gonzaga.—Giulio Romano and the Palazzo del Te.

PADUA, one of the most important Roman cities of Upper Italy, which came under the dominion of Venice in 1405, had been more than once sacked and laid in ruins during the barbarian invasion. In the later Middle Ages it had been celebrated for its University, founded in 1222, and as the seat of the Carrara family, but had never produced any really great artist. Andrea Mantegna, however, came from the adjacent territory, and Padua, like Rome, provided for its own embellishment and decoration by summoning from time to time architects, painters, and sculptors from other districts, thus adorning itself with masterpieces which exercised a favourable and lasting influence over a wide tract of surrounding country (Fig. 158).

Here, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, we find Giotto, who, on the invitation of Enrico Scrovegni, decorated the chapel of Santa Maria della Carità, known also as the *Arena*, because it was built within the circuit of the ancient Roman Ampitheatre. About the year 1376, two other most notable painters were working at Padua—one, Altichiero, from Verona, and the other Avanzo, probably from Vicenza. These men were not content to repeat the

forms of others, but sought for new ones in the direct examination of actuality. Towards the middle of the following century, we find also the famous Florentine painters, Paolo Uccello and Fra' Filippo Lippi, at Padua, and finally the great Donatello, who left there such works as the equestrian statue of Gattamelata (Fig. 160) and the altar of S. Antonio, marvellous creations, which, on the Venetian soil, became the fertile source of new ideas and new forms of art.

FIG. 158.—BASILICA OF S. ANTONIO, PADUA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

After this time, it was almost exclusively from Venice that Padua drew the artists she needed—from the Lombardi to Sansovino, and from Titian to Tiepolo.

Meantime, let us note that in Guariento Padua had an artist who, however much he might delight in the study of the works of Giotto, was not bound to his style, but retained the more sumptuous Byzantine-Gothic manner of his predecessors (Fig. 159). And it was this, no doubt, that must have appealed to the Venetians who summoned him to Venice to paint in the palace of the Doges some historical subjects, and the *Paradise,* works which all exercised a certain influence upon the local painters for some years. Immediately after the time of Guariento, whose latest work of certain date was painted in the year 1365, a numerous group of artists, some natives and some from other parts of Italy, adorned Padua with important works of art.

FIG. 159.—THE HEAVENLY HOST. (GUARIENTO.) Museo Civico, Padua. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The *Paduan School,* however, was that of Francesco Squarcione (1397–1468). We know of only two pictures that can be

attributed to this artist with certainty; these are the *Madonna and Child* in the Gallery at Berlin (Fig. 163), and the polyptych in the museum at Padua (Fig. 161); in these pictures, executed between 1449 and 1452, the forms are certainly rude and hard, but there is a certain originality in the pose of the figures (this is especially the case in the S. Anthony of the Paduan altarpiece), and the scene is enriched with architectural motives, marbles, candelabra, festoons, foliage, and fruit—in fact with all those decorative elements which were amplified and embellished in the hands of his pupils.

FIG. 160.—MONUMENT TO GATTAMELATA. (DONATELLO.) Padua.

For, if his work as an artist was second-rate, Squarcione's influence upon an immense number of pupils from many parts of Italy was of the utmost importance. In this there is nothing to excite our wonder. Who has not observed that the didactic spirit is often unaccompanied by any great artistic capacity—that artists of the highest distinction may fail as teachers, while second-rate artists may excel?

From precious documents, lately come to light, we have proof that what Squarcione organised was something more than a mere workshop; it was rather a kind of academy, rich in examples of ancient and modern art and in casts. The master had collected these in his travels, incited by his special love for the antique and by his intercourse with the Humanists among whom he had been brought up. Nor, apart from this, need we be surprised to find that at this happy period of Italian art, among the hundred and thirty-seven pupils who are said to have passed through the school of Squarcione, there were artists of merit and one who was supreme. Indeed, the school of Padua had a development comparable to that founded fifty years later by Giovanni Bellini, and its branches extended as far as Ferrara and Brescia.

My readers will of course have understood that the *supreme* artist was Andrea Mantegna. Mantegna was born, it would seem, in 1431 at Isola di Cartura, on the Brenta, and he died at Mantua

in 1506. Although Isola was at that time annexed to the territory of Vicenza (it is now in the province of Padua), Mantegna nevertheless called and signed himself *"Padovano,"* and as such we may accept him. For some time the favourite pupil of Squarcione, he felt himself inspired by that same activity which inspired his fellow-pupils. Among these, it may be well to note, were Giorgio Schiavone (Fig. 162), born at Sebenico, Bernardo Parentino, or Parenzano, a painter whose artistic personality has been more sharply defined since certain pictures formerly attributed to Ercole Roberti have been assigned to him, and the Ferrara-Bologna group, which included Marco Zoppo, Bono, Cosmè Tura, and others of whom I shall speak in due course, excluding from the group Ansuino da Forlì, whom a natural bent led rather to imitate the artists of Florence (Fig. 165).

FIG. 161.—S. JEROME AND OTHER SAINTS.
(FR. SQUARCIONE.)
Museo Civico, Padua.

FIG. 162.—VIRGIN AND CHILD.
(SCHIAVONE.)
Gallery, Turin. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

A favourable influence was exercised over Mantegna by Niccolò Pizzolo, his senior by ten years, born at Villa Ganzerla in the province of Vicenza. It is probable that Pizzolo also was a pupil of Squarcione, but his collaboration with Donatello for the bronzes of the altar of S. Antonio gave him an opportunity of acquiring strength and breadth of style. Greater illumination came to Mantegna from Jacopo Bellini; while still a youth, he married the daughter of that master, thus drawing near to the radiant centre of the Bellini family.

FIG. 163.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (FR. SQUARCIONE.) Museum, Berlin.

But the man who exercised the chief and the most direct influence upon him was Donatello, an artist who, more than even Paolo Uccello and Filippo Lippi, suggested elements of grandeur and intensity of feeling, hitherto foreign to the quiet and modest art of Padua. It was in the work of Donatello that Mantegna recognised the realisation of those ideals of truth and beauty that had smiled upon him as an unattainable dream. And in Donatello he found a loving, enlightened and free observation of nature intimately connected with the cult of classical art (Figs. 157 and 167).

It was in the Chapel of the Eremitani at Padua that Mantegna, in competition with other artists of the school, gave the first great evidences of his power; it was an undertaking which left him, at the age of twenty-one, not only triumphant but famous (Fig. 164).

His knowledge of technical processes and of form were the means by which he arrived at truth and at the expression of emotion, just as the study of the antique and of Donatello were the means by which he attained to that grandeur which he felt in his soul, and to which he already sought to give expression. But he did not stop there. He spurred himself on by a firm grasp of the laws of perspective, which he applied not to architecture only, but also to the human figure, and this with a mastery and a vigour new to art. They emboldened him to venture upon such a daring essay in foreshortening as the *Dead Christ* in the Brera (Fig. 168).

FIG. 164.—S. JAMES BEFORE THE EMPEROR. (MANTEGNA.) Church of the Eremitani, Padua. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Always conscientious and accurate in his execution, if his colour fell short of that of Giovanni Bellini in intensity and in the fusion of tints, it was, nevertheless, strong and harmonious. But it is above all by the severity of his style, the varied and vital grandeur of his composition, the science of his perspective in all its applications, and his energy both of expression and form, that Mantegna takes his place as an artist of unsurpassed originality.

FIG. 165.—THE PREACHING OF S. CHRISTOPHER. (ANSUINO DA FORLÌ.) Church of the Eremitani, Padua. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Mantegna entered the service of the Gonzaga of Mantua in 1459.

Padua, however, retained, in addition to various minor painters of the school of Squarcione, several good sculptors, followers of Donatello. Among these a prominent position was held by Bellano (1435?–1497?), in his turn the master of Andrea Briosco, known as Riccio (1470–1532), to whom we are indebted for some admirable work in bronze, notably the candelabrum in the Church of S. Antonio (Fig. 169). There was another sculptor of the school of Donatello who was probably also a pupil of Bellano. This was Giovanni Minello de' Bardi (1460?–1527), many of whose terracotta figures and rich marble friezes have survived.

FIG. 166.—PORTRAITS OF THE GONZAGA; CAMERA DEGLI SPOSI, MANTUA. (MANTEGNA.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Again, about the middle of the sixteenth century we find in Padua a numerous band of painters; but nearly all of these were pupils or imitators of Titian, who, indeed, had endowed the town with magnificent examples of his art in the frescoes of the Scuola di

FIG. 167.—S. GEORGE. (MANTEGNA.)
Accademia, Venice.

S. Antonio and of the Carmini. We must also class as a follower of Titian, Domenico Campagnola (1482–1550). The tradition of the school of Titian endured for a considerable time in Padua, carried on by Padovanino and by others who have been already mentioned (pp. 82, 83).

A few passable disciples were trained by Padovanino at Padua; but instead of reviving a series of almost forgotten names, we may, after mentioning Andrea da Valle, a good Istrian architect working at Padua between 1533 and 1566, follow in the steps of Mantegna, who now entered the service of the Marquis Ludovico Gonzaga at Mantua, visiting from time to time Verona, Florence, and Rome, and carrying out various works in these and other towns.

In 1474, then (the year in which Isabella d'Este was born), he undertook the decoration of the *Camera degli Sposi,* in the Castle of Mantua (Fig. 175), a marvel for the beauty of its decorations in *grisaille,* for the results attained by the perspective, and for the expression of the numerous portraits (Fig. 166). At a later date he worked in the Palazzo di S. Sebastiano, where he painted the series of the *Triumphs of Cæsar,* that miracle of renewed classical grandeur now at Hampton Court. Mantua had by this time become an important centre of artistic life, thanks to her own efforts and to the zeal of Isabella d'Este, who had come there in 1490 as the bride of Francesco Gonzaga, and had been received with enthusiasm by the citizens and by thousands of foreigners. She was a keen lover of the arts,

FIG. 168.—DEAD CHRIST. (MANTEGNA.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

and wrote letter upon letter giving commissions for her collections, which included pictures and sculpture by distinguished artists, ceramics, musical instruments, books, medals, engravings, and jewels. As a consequence, painters, sculptors, architects, makers of instruments, musicians, hurried to Mantua to seek her patronage. Having received as a gift from the Duke Valentino Michelangelo's *Cupid,* Isabella procured an antique *Cupid* as a companion piece. She maintained relations with Giovanni Bellini, with Leonardo da Vinci, with Buonarroti, and in 1524, at her suggestion, Baldassarre Castiglione brought Giulio Romano to Mantua.

But by this time Mantegna had been dead for eighteen years, and his disciples had either followed him to the grave or adopted new styles of art. Among those who for a time fell under the influence of Mantegna we may note Girolamo da Cremona, Domenico Morone, Francesco Morone, Francesco Verla, Francesco Bonsignori, Liberale da Verona, Gian Francesco Caroto, and Lorenzo Liombruno (1489–1537 ?), an artist of decided merit, whose spirited hand has of late been recognised in many works that show the influence both of Mantegna and of Costa (Fig. 171).

FIG. 169.—BRONZE CANDELABRUM.
Basilica of S. Antonio, Padua.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 170.—CHURCH OF S. ANDREA, MANTUA.
(LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI.)
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Mantegna was succeeded in Mantua as Court painter by Lorenzo Costa, the elder, who had had to leave Bologna on the occasion of the expulsion from that town of the Bentivoglio family. It is somewhat difficult to picture the worthy Costa, so sedate and careful in his work, as a successor to the imposing figure of Mantegna. Nevertheless here at Mantua, where, perhaps, his courtly manners found him favour, he worked with calm and dignity, and here he tranquilly

ended his days, although after the appearance of Giulio Romano with his *modern manner,* he must have seen his own works neglected and his pupils leaving him to adopt more expeditious methods.

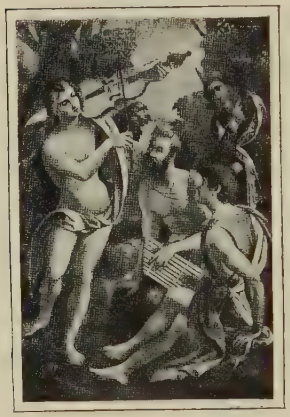

FIG. 171.—JUDGMENT OF MIDAS. (LIOMBRUNO.) Gallery, Berlin.

Francesco Gonzaga died in 1519, and was succeeded by Federico II., who received the ducal title from Charles V. in the year that the latter was crowned emperor at Bologna by Clement VII. The death of Federico occurred in 1540, or only a year after that of his mother, Isabella, who had been during his reign, as during that of his predecessor, the dominating artistic spirit of the court. The Palazzo del Te (Figs. 172, 173) is the most glorious relic of his rule. It was built between 1525 and 1535 by Giulio Pippi, known as Giulio Romano (1492–1546), and was decorated partly by him (Fig. 174), and partly from his designs and instructions, by Francesco Primaticcio, Rinaldo Mantovano, and others. Giulio Romano further prepared a number of drawings for the frescoes in S. Andrea (the beautiful church designed by Leon Battista Alberti, Fig. 170); and collaborated with Giovanni Battista Ghisi in the transformation of the plan of the old Cathedral; but his most important work was the decoration of many parts of the Corte Reale for Isabella and for Federico. It was here that at a later date Lorenzo Costa, the younger (1537–1583), a member of a family of artists that included also Ippolito (1506–1561) and Luigi, decorated the *Sala dello Zodiaco.*

FIG. 172.—HALL OF THE PALAZZO DEL TE, MANTUA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

In 1708 the Gonzaga family was deprived of the lordship of Mantua. The city of a glorious past became subject to Austria, and remained under Austrian rule, save for the interval of French predominance, up to 1866. In 1752 a Royal Academy was founded there by Maria Theresa.

FIG. 173.—SALA DEI CAVALLI IN THE PALAZZO DEL TE, MANTUA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

To-day the marvellous city that had arisen, according to the legend related by Dante, above the bones of the prophetess Manto, lies solitary amidst her lakes, not known as it deserves to be by foreigners, nor indeed by Italians. And in her sleep she dreams again the great and glorious poem, in which figure Virgil and Sordello, Isabella d'Este, Andrea Mantegna, and the Martyrs of Belfiore.

FIG. 174.—WEDDING FEAST OF CUPID AND PSYCHE. (GIULIO ROMANO.)
Palazzo del Te, Mantua. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

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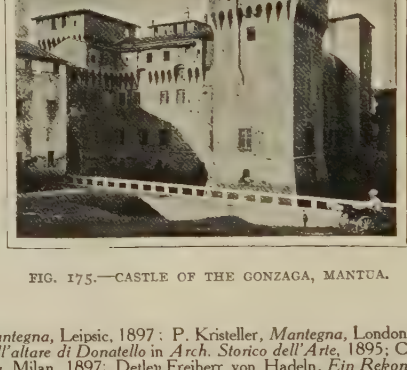

FIG. 175.—CASTLE OF THE GONZAGA, MANTUA.

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FIG. 176.—AMPHITHEATRE, VERONA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER IX

VERONA, VICENZA, BRESCIA, AND BERGAMO

Greatness of Verona in Roman times.—Antiquities.—Gothic buildings. Renaissance buildings.—Early painters in Verona.—Pisanello.—Disciples of Mantegna at Verona.—The assimilation of Veronese art by that of Venice.—Vicenza under Venetian rule.—Andrea Palladio.—Vicenzan painters.—Architecture at Brescia.—The minor arts at Brescia.—Romanino, Moretto, and Moroni.—Artists at Bergamo.

THERE is not one of the marvellous cities that lie beneath the Alps of Lombardy and of the Venetian territory that has not its art history, and upon all of them the influence, first of the School of Padua, then of the Schools of Venice, was exercised in greater or less degree. Already, when treating of the latter, we had occasion to speak of not a few artists who were born in various towns of the Venetian domain; we have since been occupied with Padua and with Mantua, in connection with the great works of Mantegna; we will now consider the art of Verona, passing on presently to that of Vicenza, of Brescia, and of Bergamo.

The history of painting at Verona is of especial importance; after that of Venice it may be held to be the most notable of all this region; indeed, if the Veronese painters had maintained the energy and strength with which they started, their art would have been entitled to the first place.

Even before the rise of her school of painting, the city possessed artistic traditions and marvellous monuments which bore witness to her greatness in Roman and mediæval times.

The Porta dei Leoni, the so-called Porte dei Borsari, the theatre and the amphitheatre (Fig. 176), are relics of her Roman period, while her mediæval monuments include a conspicuous series of Romanesque churches, among which the most important are San Zeno (Fig. 177), where, on the façade, the works of certain contemporary sculptors, a Guglielmo and a Nicolò (before 1138) may still be seen, and the Cathedral, a building originally in the

same style which, like the Church of San Fermo (Fig. 178) has a pseudo-Gothic aspect due to successive alterations. Examples of true Gothic art, on the other hand, may be found in Sant' Anastasia (Fig. 179), and again in an important series of sepulchral monuments; of these latter the most remarkable are the tombs of the Scaligeri (Fig. 180), which are in part the work of Lombard sculptors. The richest, indeed, that of Cansignorio (1375), is by Bonino da Campione.

FIG. 177.—CHURCH OF S. ZENO, VERONA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

In the fifteenth century both sculpture and architecture in Verona, under the influence of Tuscan artists, began to show Renaissance tendencies, the mature results of which were masterpieces of harmony and grace, such as the Palazzo del Consiglio (Fig. 181), assigned without any evidence to Fra Giocondo; the door of the Archbishop's palace, and the campanile of S. Maria in Organo, designed by that Fra Giovanni (1457–1525) who was also a famous woodcarver and worker in intarsia. Later on, with the sixteenth century, the classical style established itself in Verona also. It found its principal supporter in Michele Sanmichele (1484–1559) who built many sumptuous palaces, the Pelligrini Chapel at S. Bernardino, and other rotundas, cupolas, and campaniles. He also took an active part in the restoration of the fortifications.

FIG. 178.—CHURCH OF S. FERMO MAGGIORE, VERONA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

But the art that had the most vigorous development in Verona was that of painting, an art that had already held an important position as far back as the fourteenth century. In early

days it showed Byzantine characteristics, as in the work of a certain Cicogna, who migrated to the town, perhaps from Bologna; then the influence of Giotto, as manifested in various frescoes in S. Fermo; finally, with Altichiero (whose works, like those of Avanzo, must now be sought in Padua). Veronese painting developed very individual qualities of technique and sentiment, shown in the unprecedented magnificence of architectural backgrounds, and in a keen search for truth that led it far away from the trite and outworn formulas of the Giottesque tradition (Fig. 182). The final affirmation, or rather the conquest, of the new manner, belongs, however, to the following generation, if not to Giovanni Badile (working 1409–1448), most assuredly to Stefano da Verona, known in the past as Da Zevio (1375 till after 1438, Fig. 183) and to Antonio (erroneously called Vittore) Pisano, generally known as Pisanello (1397–1455), who was born in Pisa and taken to Verona as a child. Stefano introduced exotic elements into his art, derived more especially from the School of Cologne and perhaps also from that of Lombardy. Yet Stefano stands on a much lower level than Pisanello, who undoubtedly ranks as one of the greatest initiators of the Renaissance. It is impossible to overlook the influence exercised upon him by Gentile da Fabriano, who was in Venice as early as 1408; but no sooner was he brought in contact with truth, than Pisanello recognised his own

FIG. 179.—CHURCH OF S. ANASTASIA, VERONA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 180.—TOMBS OF THE SCALIGERI, VERONA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

strength and recovered his own individuality. This was brought about in great measure by his practice as a medallist; it was thanks to such work, in portraiture above all, that he attained so early to a broad and powerful note of naturalism. Of this art, which he revived, he became so complete a master that he inspired a crowd of disciples among whom, in Verona alone, we find such men as Matteo Pasti, Giovanni Maria Pomedello, and Giulio della Torre. Pisanello's medals of Piccinino, of Leonello d'Este, of the Malatesta, of Pier Candido Decembrio, of Vittorino da Feltre, of Filippo Maria Visconti, of Giovanni Paleologo, of Alfonso of Aragon, of Francesco Sforza, of the Gonzaga, of Inigo d'Avalos, and of Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, are equally admirable for their incisive portraiture and for the designs on the reverse, where we find nude figures, animals, and landscape scenes, in which an incomparable grace is reconciled with truth to nature and expressed in the bronze with a technical mastery worthy of the ancients. But for us Pisanello is not of less importance as a draughtsman and a painter, the more so when we observe that almost all his pictures are of an earlier date than his medals. In his drawings, too, he reveals his passion for research and his acuteness in seizing all that is most beautiful and characteristic in the works of nature. In this he has some points of contact with Leonardo da Vinci. Plants, flowers, and animals, in their

FIG. 181. —PALAZZO DEL CONSIGLIO, VERONA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 182.—VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED, WITH SAINTS AND ANGELS. (ALTICHIERO.) Church of S. Anastasia, Verona. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

various aspects, interested him as much as the human figure; he studied them, therefore, with equal application and drew them with equal care. In his pictures beauty is married to a delicate poetry which makes them altogether delightful. I may instance such examples as the *Annunciation,* in S. Fermo in Verona, where the angel, trembling with emotion, draws himself together, and seems to hide himself within the solemn curve of his wings; or, again, the *S. George* of S. Anastasia, where the saint appears to avoid the fixed and grateful glance of the princess; or the *S. Eustace* startled at the apparition of the stag in the dark wood, filled with beasts of all kinds, where the dense branches shut out the rays of sun and moon ("raggiar sole nè luna") (Fig. 187); or finally the earnest colloquy of *S. Antony* and *S. George* in the National Gallery.

FIG. 183.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (STEFANO OF VERONA.) Museo Civico, Verona. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

It was in 1436 that Jacopo Bellini painted his many-figured fresco of the *Crucifixion* for the cathedral of Verona; little more than twenty years later Andrea Mantegna's famous triptych was placed in S. Zeno. These renowned works (the former no longer survives), together with those of Pisanello, served as the most important but not the only guides to the following generation of painters at Verona. Francesco Benaglio, brought up in the school of Padua, before long became a follower of Mantegna; others, who seem to have been followers of Mantegna from the beginning, were Francesco Bonsignori (1455–1519), who at a later period was not unmindful of the fascination of the Bellini (Fig. 186); Liberale (1445–1526), a powerful but unequal painter of considerable individuality (Fig. 188); Domenico Morone (1442–1528? Fig. 189) and his son Francesco (1470–1529), the one a follower of Benaglio and the other of his father, but both of them influenced, first by Mantegna

FIG. 184.—MEDAL OF SIGISMONDO MALATESTA. (PISANELLO.)

FIG. 185.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS. (F. BENAGLIO.)
Museo Civico, Verona.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 186.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (F. BONSIGNORI.)
Church of S. Bernardino, Verona.
(*Photo. Erogi.*)

and then by Gentile Bellini; and finally Girolamo dai Libri (1472–1556, Fig. 190), a pupil of Domenico Morone, who later on imitated not Mantegna only, but also Bartolomeo Montagna. We have a more eclectic painter in Gian Francesco Caroto (1480–1555, Fig. 191); in his works we find successively traces of Liberale, Mantegna, Bonsignori, of Cima and, finally, even of Raphael. Nicolò Giolfino (1476–1555), taking his start from Liberale, yielded later to various influences. Giammaria Falconetto (1468–1534) was a good fresco-painter, who sacrificed the unity of his composition to his love for architectural detail. Michele da Verona, who flourished in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, was influenced by Carpaccio.

Among all these artists, who had grown up in the school of the *quattrocento*, but had not resisted the assaults of the more vigorous and ample manner of the *cinquecento*, the most notable was Paolo Morando Cavazzola (1489–1522, Fig. 193). Setting out from the school of Domenico Morone, and then following in the steps of Caroto, of Giolfino and of Mantegna, he finally became a cautious admirer of Raphael; but as a colourist he had qualities of the first order, reconciling a lively treatment with complete harmony, and high with fresh and even execution.

After the time of Cavazzola, Veronese painting takes on a full *cinquecento* style, but it was now under the protection of the great

FIG. 187.—VISION OF S. EUSTACE. (PISANELLO.) National Gallery, London. (*Photo. Hanfstaengl.*)

art of Venice, into which a little later it was almost completely absorbed. Indeed, while on the one hand Giovanni Caroto (1491–1555), Francesco Torbido (1483–1565), known as Il Moro di Verona, an accomplished fresco-painter but stronger as a portraitist (Fig. 194), Domenico Riccio, known as Brusasorci (1515–1567), and Antonio Badile (1517–1560), although they did not escape the influence of the triumphant Venetian school, and notably of the all-powerful art of Titian, nevertheless maintained a certain connection with the native art of their city; on the other hand, Bonifazio dei Pitati, Paolo Veronese, and others, were drawn completely within the orbit of Venice.

Jacopo Ligozzi (1543–1627) was the only artist who detached himself from the trend common at the time to his fellow citizens. Summoned to Florence by the Grand-Duke Ferdinand II., he rapidly adopted the manner of the Tuscan painters.

As was the case with Venice, Verona never underwent a period of total artistic eclipse; at all times she owned a few artists who kept the sacred fire burning.

A long list of meritorious Veronese artists of the eighteenth century might be added here did space permit, and among them would figure several architects of distinction.

FIG. 188.—S. SEBASTIAN. (LIBERALE DA VERONA.) Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

* * *

Vicenza, like Verona, was a place of some importance in Roman times, but unfortunately only a few scanty remains of that glorious period have been preserved. During the dark ages the city, when not subjected

to outrage, was neglected. Then, like the other chief cities of Northern Italy, during the period of episcopal and communal rule, she prospered anew. First, notable additions and alterations were made to the Church of SS. Vito e Modesto, now known as SS. Felice e Fortunato. Somewhat later various churches were built in the transitional Romanesque-Gothic style, among them S. Lorenzo (Fig. 199), S. Corona, S. Michele and above all the Cathedral (Fig. 196), a building that underwent incessant transformations, thus sharing the fate of the city itself, which was subject in turn to the Carrara of Padua, to the Scaligeri of Verona, to the Visconti of Milan and, finally, (1404) to the Republic of Venice, whose dominion lasted until 1796.

FIG. 189.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (DOMENICO MORONE.) Church of S. Maria in Organo, Verona. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

The artistic glory of Vicenza is wholly comprised within the period of Venetian rule; during that period the city produced a remarkable series of architects and of painters. Andrea Palladio (1518–1580), called "the founder of modern architecture," was on a higher plane than any of his predecessors. But the "modernity" of Palladio was nothing but a masterly revival of the style of the ancients; it was inspired by a persistent desire that buildings should achieve beauty and magnificence, thanks to their proportions alone, and without the aid of any decorative mask. In this he was but following out the precepts of Bramante and of Michelangelo, who had set the example of an earnest and loving study of Roman monuments. But Palladio carried out his principles with a greater rigour and at times he appears bare and cold. Nor was he content to go to the architecture of the ancients for artistic suggestions only; he

FIG. 190.—S. ANNE WITH THE VIRGIN AND SAINTS. (GIROLAMO DAI LIBRI.) S. Polo, Verona. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 191.—TOBIAS WITH THE ARCHANGELS. (CAROTO.)
Museo Civico, Verona.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

was equally or even more occupied with problems of construction and of internal arrangement. Just as Michelangelo, and at a later time Bernini, gave *a special aspect, a distinctive character,* to Rome, so did this great architect in the case of Vicenza, so that the town came to be called "the city of Palladio." In fact his noble style of architecture asserted itself and gave the law for the future, putting in the background the palaces built in the Venetian-Gothic style. And, indeed, to study Palladian architecture we must go to Vicenza, where, from the number and the variety of examples, it shows to greater advantage than when seen in isolated specimens and amid surroundings that are not in harmony with it. Such buildings as the Church of the Redentore and the Palazzo Ruini, standing isolated amid the richness and the decorative vivacity of Venice and of Bologna, appear cold and academic.

Andrea Palladio converted Vicenza into a miniature Rome; he set himself not only to build the famous Basilica (Fig. 197), the bridge of S. Michele, the Rotunda, the Loggia del Capitanio, the Teatro Olimpico (Fig. 198), etc., but also to mark out the path for his successors, among whom we at once discern an architect of great power—Vincenzo Scamozzi (1562–1616). Scamozzi was in demand in other towns as well, in Rome, in Genoa, and as we have seen, in Venice; in his native city he was the author of the Palazzo del Comune (formerly Palazzo

FIG. 192.—THE SYBIL REVEALS THE MYSTERY OF THE INCARNATION TO AUGUSTUS. (FALCONETTO.)
Museo Civico, Verona. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

Trissino Baston, and of the Palazzo Valmarana (formerly Palazzo Trento), of the scenic decoration of the Teatro Olimpico, and of other buildings. Certain architectural aspects of Vicenza may without exaggeration be called magnificent. I may instance the group of buildings to be seen from the street of the Biblioteca Bertoliana, and formed by the side of the Loggia del Capitanio and the basilica; the Piazza dei Signori, with the same basilica and the same Loggia in a different view; the Tower, the Church of S. Vincenzo, the Monte di Pietà, and the Columns.

FIG. 193.—DESCENT FROM THE CROSS. (CAVAZZOLA.)
Museo Civico, Verona.
(*Photo. Brogi.*)

The group of painters who were born and who worked in Vicenza is not less remarkable than that of the architects. The oldest of them is a certain Battista, whose great polyptych may be seen in the museum of the city; the Venetian origin of this work is patent not only in the rich adornment of the frame but in the length and dignity of the figures. Some critics believe that the Avanzo who worked at Padua (see pp. 98 and 112) was a Vicenzan, and also that Francesco Verla (fl. about 1522) who was a follower, first of Perugino, and then of Mantegna. There were other mediocrities who were associates of these men, but at length there appeared in Vicenza an artist of great parts, whose influence extended beyond the limits of the district: this was Bartolomeo Montagna, who was born at Orzinovi, in the neighbourhood of Brescia, about the middle of the fifteenth century, and who died in 1523 at Vicenza, which town had been his habitual abode for about half a century. As happens in the case of all artists who have a distinct personality, there is much uncertainty as to where and how Bartolomeo learnt his art; it has been stated that he was a pupil of Alvise Vivarini, that he was influenced by Mantegna, by Carpaccio, by Gentile Bellini, by the sculptor Bellano; again that he was not deaf to voices from beyond the Alps. This at least is certain—that the many elements which go to make up his art are re-inforced by a personal talent of the first order. If in his calm and symmetrical composition he never reached

the level of Carpaccio or of Gentile Bellini, if in the conception of the divine ideal he was inferior to Giovanni Bellini, on the other hand, in the accomplished severity of his draughtsmanship, in the vivacity of his deep colouring, in the grandeur of his modelling, and in the lofty, austere character impressed upon his figures, Montagna was second to none: this may be seen in such works as the altar-pieces in the Brera (Fig. 201) and at Berlin, the *Pietà* of Monteberico, and in other pictures to be found in the churches and in the Museum at Vicenza.

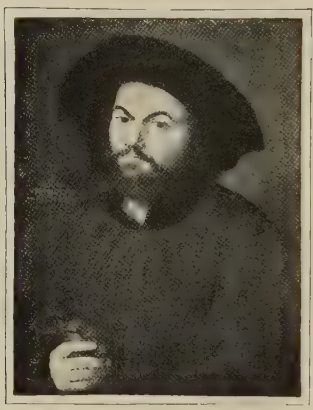

FIG. 194.—PORTRAIT OF A MAN. (F. TORBIDO.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

Painters who followed the manner of Bartolomeo very closely were Benedetto, his brother (scarcely his son if he was born about 1458), Giovanni Speranza (Fig. 202), and Giovanni Bonconsiglio, known as Il Marescalco, who was working between 1490 and 1535. This last artist succeeded in rivalling his master in some of his works, as in the *Pietà* in the Museum at Vicenza, a marvel of grandeur and lofty sentiment (Fig. 203), but after a time his art deteriorated and his manner became weak and conventional. Among those who felt the influence of Montagna we have already mentioned Cima da Conegliano. Brief mention must further be made of Marcello Fogolino, who was born in Friuli at S. Vito; he betook himself to Vicenza and was working there from 1520 to 1540. His paintings, pleasing in their vivacity of design and colouring, proclaim him an eclectic (Fig. 202). In Vicenza he was a follower of Speranza

FIG. 195.—ECCE HOMO. (PAOLO FARINATI.)
Museo Civico, Verona. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

rather than of Montagna; later on he perfected his art under Pordenone, not without giving proof, in some traits, of his knowledge of, and admiration for, the works of Raphael.

FIG. 196.—CATHEDRAL, VICENZA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

* * *

A town of considerable importance during the Roman period, Brescia still treasures the remains of some notable buildings dating from that time, such as the Forum, the Curia, the Temple of Vespasian, to say nothing of an extraordinary number of inscriptions and works of sculpture, the most celebrated of which is the bronze statue of Victory. Of the importance, again, of Brescia in the Byzantine and Lombard ages, we have evidence in such buildings as S. Salvatore, Santa Maria del Solario, and the old Cathedral that lies under the twelfth century Rotunda (Fig. 204), which latter is certainly the most remarkable monument of the Romanesque period in the town. During the period in which the pointed style prevailed, several churches were built in Brescia, but any servile imitation of the Northern Gothic never found favour there, and thus the passage to the Renaissance was rendered easy. It was chiefly under the protection of the Republic of Venice that this passage was made, and many remarkable buildings were erected in the new style, as, for example, the Madonna dei Miracoli, the sepulchral monument of Marcantonio Martinengo (Fig. 205), and the Loggia, a building in the construction of which many architects took part, from Formenton to Sansovino and Pietro

FIG. 197.—BASILICA PALLADIANA, VICENZA.
(*Photo. Poppi.*)

Beretta (1518–1572), while its adornment employed a crowd of sculptors, many of whom were natives of Brescia. Antonio Calegari (1698–1777), to whom we are indebted for the fountain in the Piazza del Duomo, and for a much admired statue of St. Agnes, was also a Brescian.

FIG. 198.—TEATRO OLIMPICO, VICENZA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Indeed, when we consider the number of artists, working in every field of art, who were either natives of Brescia or were summoned to the city, we recognize that few towns have rivalled her in this respect. It was the continuity of her artistic production, and the wide field over which it was spread, rather than the presence of artists of the highest order, that insured the great reputation of the city in all lands and at all times. Brescia harboured whole bands of goldsmiths whose work in niello is highly prized; carvers of wood and workers in intarsia, among others Stefano Lamberti and Raffaello Marone (1479–1560); designers of stained-glass windows; illuminators; manufacturers of musical instruments, of organs above all, and of lutes, an instrument whose place was taken later on by the violin, which indeed may be called a Brescian invention; and finally, those forgers of arms, who, thanks to the excellence of their work, and to the richness and beauty of their decoration, insured for their city a long supremacy in the working of iron.

FIG. 199.—APSE AND BELL TOWER OF S. LORENZO, VICENZA.
(*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

Painting in the fourteenth century was poorly represented in Brescia; in the fifteenth century, on the other hand, it was firmly

FIG. 200.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SS. BERNARDINO AND FRANCIS. (G. SPERANZA.)
Brera, Milan.

established there, with the group of artists (including such men as Foppa and Zenale), who gave the lead to the art of Lombardy up to the time of Leonardo. Then, in the sixteenth century, a school of great vitality arose in the town, a school inaugurated by Floriano Ferramola (d. 1528), and continued by Alessandro Bonvicino, known as Il Moretto (1498–1554), and Girolamo Romani, known as Romanino (1485–1566?). Both of these painters learnt their art from the same master, and both were influenced by Girolamo Savoldo (also a Brescian, but trained, as we have seen, in the school of Venice), and later by Titian and by Lotto; both of them, in fine, were brought up in the same artistic atmosphere, and yet they differed strangely both in sentiment and in what one may call external qualities.

Moretto, a calm, pure, and sedate spirit, preferred, and was most successful in the treatment of, subjects whose dominant note is the expression of a tranquil religious sentiment (Fig. 206). When he undertook subjects of a dramatic or stirring character, he became confused both in composition and form. His colour is moreover cold, and based upon a prevalent note of a pale purple, which at times degenerates into a livid tint; yet even this technical element sometimes re-inforces the sentiment of the work.

FIG. 201.—VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED, WITH SAINTS. (B. MONTAGNA.)
Brera, Milan.

Romanino is inferior as a draughtsman, but he has a greater fund of vital energy. His colouring, rich in fresh silvery tones and in flashing carmines, evokes a feeling of joy in full contrast to the sense of sadness called up by the colour of Moretto, a melancholy which is evoked even

FIG. 202.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (FOGOLINO.)
Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

by his fresco with the group of beautiful women in the Palazzo Martinengo at Brescia.

This difference of temperament perhaps accounts for the fact that few pupils grouped themselves round Moretto, and many round Romanino. However, among these few we find Gian Battista Moroni (1520–1578), born at Bondo in the Bergamo country, who, although but an indifferent painter of sacred subjects, so excelled in the execution of portraits (Fig. 207), powerful in their mastery both of form and sentiment, as to excite the admiration of Titian, the master of masters.

* * *

Bergamo is another of those beautiful cities that lie at the foot of the Alps. Although embellished with a remarkable series of works of art, Bergamo has never had any distinct school of painting of her own. In the city itself were born Previtali, Talpino, Vittore Ghislandi, known as Fra Galgario (Fig. 208), and Bartolomeo Nazzari, the last two distinguished portraitists (see p. 88); in the surrounding territory Girolamo da Santa Croce, Jacopo Palma the elder, Cariani, Moroni, and others; but these men all wandered away and received their artistic training in other towns, principally, as we have seen, in Venice. It was in Venice, too, that Fra Domenico Bergamasco (1490?–1549), the famous worker in intarsia, learnt his art. As some compensation for this, Bergamo was enriched with works of art by masters from other regions. In the fourteenth century Giovanni da Campione

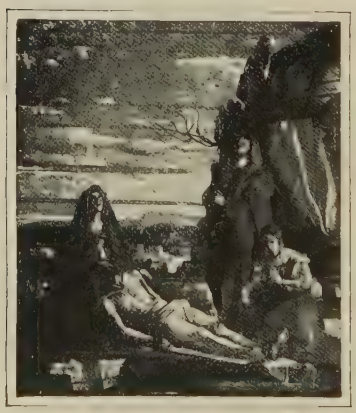

FIG. 203.—PIETÀ.
(G. BONCONSIGLIO.)
Museo Civico, Vicenza.

was working there both as a sculptor and an architect; Amadeo built in the upper town that marvel of grace, the Capella Colleoni (Fig. 211); it was there that Lorenzo Lotto painted innumerable canvases, among them what may be reckoned as his masterpieces; and finally it was there that G. B. Tiepolo executed some of his most energetic frescoes.

FIG. 204.—THE ROTUNDA OR OLD CATHEDRAL, BRESCIA. (*Photo. Guidoni.*)

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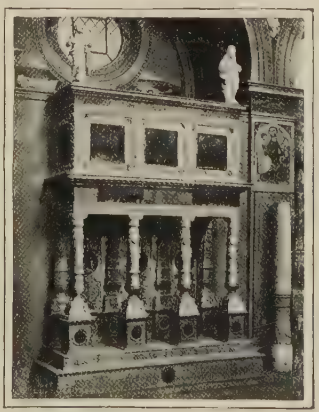

FIG. 205.—MAUSOLEUM OF M. A. MARTINENGO.

Museo Civico Cristiano, Brescia.

FIG. 206.—S. NICHOLAS OF BARI PRESENTS CHILDREN TO THE VIRGIN. (MORETTO OF BRESCIA.)
Martinengo Gallery, Brescia.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

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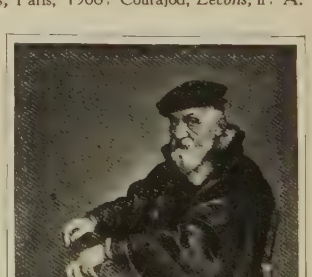

FIG. 207.—PORTRAIT OF AN OLD GENTLEMAN. (G. B. MORONI.)
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.

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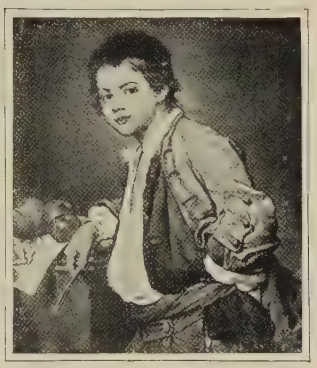

FIG. 208.—PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG ARTIST. (FRA VITTORE GHISLANDI.)
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.

FIG. 209.—FAÇADE OF THE COLLEONI CHAPEL, BERGAMO.

FIG. 210.—PANORAMA OF MILAN.

CHAPTER X

MILAN AND LOMBARDY

Relics of Roman Milan.—Lombard Architecture.—S. Ambrogio.—Gothic Style in Milan.—The Cathedral.—Sculptors in Milan.—Milan under Francesco Sforza.—The Castello.—The Solari.—Michelozzo.—Bramante at Milan.—Disciples of Bramante.—Monuments of Gaston de Foix, and of Lodovico Il Moro and Beatrice d'Este.

We now come to the great Lombard capital. It is no doubt true that in the course of centuries Milan has suffered many outrages and undergone various transformations; but the sacred and civil monuments that still remain, the museums, the collections of pictures, both public and private, would suffice in themselves to ennoble any city. Yet the bulk of the travellers who visit Milan look upon it merely as an industrial centre, the chief features of which are the *Galleria* (Arcade) with its glass roof, the ring of smoking factory chimneys, the busy ferment of the streets, the numerous theatres, and the wealth of the houses and the shops.

Relics of Roman Milan are found from time to time under the soil; there are many fragments of sculpture in the Museums, and the displaced columns of S. Lorenzo are still preserved (Fig. 211). The Milan of Byzantine times survives in the framework of this same church of S. Lorenzo (Fig. 212), the mosaics of S. Aquilino, and those in the chapel of the building formerly known as the Basilica Fausta, but now as S. Satiro e S. Vittore "*in-ciel-d'oro*" (with the golden ceiling), adjoining the church of S. Ambrogio; to say nothing of some relics in the treasuries of churches. But

these remains give us a very imperfect notion of the importance of Milan, first under the Romans, and then from the time of St. Ambrose (who died as bishop in 397) down to about the eighth century. The examples of subsequent centuries, on the other hand, fully justify the fame of the great and glorious capital in history. So abundant indeed are these remains, both in the city and in the surrounding district, that they have given rise to the term *Lombard architecture*, a term somewhat wanting in precision, however, seeing that these buildings, in spite of certain special characters, none the less form an integral part of the great *Romanesque* activity, at that time common to the whole of central Europe. Among the churches of Milan, built in this style, the most important, in many respects, is doubtless S. Ambrogio (Figs. 213, 214, and 215), but the burning problems that are still under discussion concerning the date of this church do not encourage one to deduce fixed canons for the history of architecture and constructive principles from this example. There can be no doubt, however, that one of the most remarkable, complete and picturesque examples of Romanesque architecture is to be found in this church, with its quadriporticus, its towers, its three vaulted naves each ending in an apse, its clustered piers, its round-headed arches, its octagonal cupola, its altar surmounted by the ciborium, and its general richness of ornamental detail. Milan has preserved very few relics of

FIG. 211.—COLUMNS OF S. LORENZO, MILAN.
(*Photo. Brogi.*)

FIG. 212.—CHURCH OF S. LORENZO, MILAN.
(*Photo. Brogi.*)

the Communal period, a period memorable for the heroic struggle against Frederick Barbarossa; but, as a compensation, this little comprises some civic buildings, a class of buildings that as a rule have at all times been the first to suffer. The arches of the Porta Nuova and the Palazzo della Ragione, belong to this period.

FIG. 213.—CHURCH OF S. AMBROGIO, MILAN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The so-called *Gothic* style took root slowly in Milan, but its acceptance is illustrated by a building of the first importance, a building that still remains to bear witness to the fame of the Visconti; we mean, of course, the Cathedral (Figs. 216, 217 and 218). Gian Galeazzo began the mighty work in 1386, and in the construction Italians and foreigners worked in harmony. Andrea degli Organi from Modena first constructed a model of the church, and his son Filippino became later the chief architect, a post which he held while the great pillars were completed, the vaults and buttresses erected, and a first instalment of the world of statues that crown them set up. The fifteenth century closed with the completion of the central tower, save for the final pinnacle, which was only added in 1774. Coming into existence out of due time and place, the Cathedral of Milan exhibits some grave defects both in style and structure; but it has merits of its own, above all *picturesque* ones, in the vigorous way the whole mass springs up, and in the variety of complicated groupings that it offers when looked upon from different

FIG. 214.—FACADE AND QUADRIPORTICUS, S. AMBROGIO, MILAN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

points of view. Taken as a whole we have in it a monument unique of its kind and of singular fascination.

Now it is just this singularity that has prevented the Duomo of Milan from becoming what the cathedrals in other cities naturally became—the type that is repeated in the lesser churches. While in Rome, around the dome of St. Peter's, there rises a choir of minor cupolas, which in a greater or lesser degree resemble their great prototype, in Milan there is nothing in the whole extent of the vast city to echo the outline of the cathedral. The great mass rises in solitude, the source of profound emotion rather than of artistic satisfaction.

FIG. 215.—S. AMBROGIO, MILAN. INTERIOR. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

There are indeed in Milan no other sacred edifices in the Gothic style, with the exception of the graceful tower of S. Gottardo (Fig. 219), built by Maestro Francesco dei Pecorari of Cremona (1330). In the case of other churches, such as S. Eustorgio, S. Simpliciano, S. Marco, etc., either the Gothic elements have been distributed in various ways upon a basis of Romanesque work, or else they have been transformed as a result of drastic alterations. So, again, of the many civil buildings in the Gothic style there are but few examples left; among those that have survived mention should be made of the Loggia degli Osii (Fig. 220), erected by Matteo Visconti in 1316, and of the Palazzo Borromeo.

FIG. 216.—PINNACLES OF THE CATHEDRAL, MILAN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

In Milan, as in Venice, the work of the sculptor was developed in subjection to the necessities of architecture, in this differing from

the course of development in Florence. There is thus no need to dwell on the fact that the cathedral from the very beginning became an important field for the activity of sculptors, giving opportunities for the manifestation and fusion of the most diverse sentiments. It appeared so indispensable and urgent that the artists engaged in the work should devote the whole of their efforts to the advancement of the great undertaking, that in 1396 a decree was issued by the Duke forbidding them to leave the territory of Milan and to seek for work elsewhere. It is certainly a fact worthy of note that in the course of five centuries more than a thousand sculptors (many of whom were also engineers and architects) were engaged in the work, and among these men we meet with many names of the highest distinction. With a few exceptions, it is the northern influence that is the most manifest in their work. The noble art of Giovanni di Balduccio of Pisa, who was entrusted by the archbishop Giovanni Visconti with the carving of the marble shrine of St. Peter Martyr (1339) in S. Eustorgio, made but little impression in Milan; its influence was confined to a few pieces of sculpture, such as the story of the Magi, some parts of the high altar, the tomb of Gaspare Visconti, and those of Stefano and Umberto III. Visconti, all in the same church; and in addition to these, the reliefs above the Aliprandi Monument in S. Marco and the great tomb with the equestrian statue of Barnabò Visconti, now in the museum (Fig. 221). Among the names of

FIG. 217.—CATHEDRAL, MILAN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 218.—CATHEDRAL, MILAN. INTERIOR. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

artists mentioned in connection with these and other works scattered throughout Milan, that of Bonino, a sculptor from Campione, often recurs.

FIG. 219. BELL-TOWER, S. GOTTARDO, MILAN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Meantime the art of the Renaissance was daily gathering strength and influence, and if the protection given by the Visconti to art and letters had been notable, that offered by Francesco Sforza, a man of ability and a favourite of fortune, was nothing less than magnificent. At his court he welcomed distinguished humanists, and famous artists such as Pisanello, Aristotile Fioravanti, from Bologna, an enterprising architect and hydraulic engineer, who died in Russia in 1486, Michelozzo Michelozzi (1396?–1472), Antonio Averlino, known as Filarete (1400?–1469?) and others, whose very names sufficiently prove that the northern influence had finally and completely yielded to one that had its origin, more particularly, in central Italy. The most important buildings that date from the time of Francesco Sforza are the Castello (Fig. 223) and the Ospedale Maggiore (Fig. 224). The castle that Francesco Sforza imposed upon the people of Milan, rather as "an ornament to the city" than as a bulwark of defence against enemies, whether foreign or intestine, was begun by him in 1450 on the ruins of a fortress of the Visconti, destroyed three years previously. Among the earliest of those employed in its construction we find one Giovanni of Milan, and later, Filarete. Recent researches have tended to limit the part played by this last artist, and the design of the tower rebuilt by Luca Beltrami in 1904 can no longer be attributed to him. It is

FIG. 220. LOGGIA DEGLI OSII, MILAN. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

FIG. 221.— MONUMENT TO BARNABO VISCONTI. (BONINO DA CAMPIONE.) Museum, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

to him, however, that we owe the oldest part of the Ospedale Maggiore, a portion of the portico, that is to say, where Filarete gives proof of his Florentine origin and of his faith in the constructive methods and in the style of Filippo Brunelleschi (Fig. 224). The treatment of the upper part, on the other hand, reveals a different sentiment and a certain tardiness in the application of Renaissance forms; this conservative feeling may also be noted in the Castello, where the pointed arch prevails in the richly moulded windows, encased in the square frames frequent in the Venetian territory and in many parts of Lombardy, with a central column ringed half-way up in fourteenth century style. It was more especially the family of the Solari who made use of this transitional style, half Gothic and half Renaissance, spreading above the ancient arches and beneath the ancient vaults a charming, spring-like growth of foliage and of flowers and a merry dance of youthful forms. Giovanni was employed between 1445 and 1481 on many buildings, among them the Cathedral of Milan, the Castle of Pavia and the fortifications at Pizzighettone and Novara; his son Guiniforte, who as early as 1459 was "engineer" to the cathedral, was employed later on at the Certosa of Pavia; he then succeeded to Filarete at the Ospedale Maggiore, where he executed the beautiful double-arched pointed windows. Meanwhile, as might have been expected, a transformation even more eager and solicitous

FIG. 222.—DOORWAY OF THE BANCO MEDICEO, MILAN. Now in the Museum, Milan.

was in progress in the art of sculpture, thanks once more to those two superlative undertakings, the Cathedral of Milan and the Certosa of Pavia. The Solari, themselves, as we have already seen, and as we shall see again later on, collaborated in both, as did also the members of the Mantegazza family.

FIG. 223.—CASTLE OF THE SFORZA, MILAN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Michelozzo, on the invitation of Pigello Portinari, the director of the Banco Mediceo at Milan, came to the city from Florence; he was probably the sculptor of the doorway of the Bank (Fig. 222), with the exception of the four lateral figures. To him, again, must be assigned the chapel of S. Peter Martyr adjoining (Fig. 225) the church of S. Eustorgio, together with its sculptural decorations (1462–1470). Lombard elements are not wanting in this admirable building; but just as native painters were employed in the decoration, so native sculptors may have had their share in the ornamental parts. The double windows, with their candelabrum columns, seem to justify this assumption. None the less, this building, both as regards the general aspect and in its various details, provided, as it were, a refuge in Milan for the Tuscan art of about the middle of the fifteenth century—of the period, that is to say, when the architectural forms that had their origin in Brunelleschi and their climax in Giuliano da Sangallo were carrying all before them. The cupola of S. Maria delle Carceri at Prato, the work of the latter architect, is twin sister to that of S. Eustorgio.

FIG. 224.—OLD PART OF THE GREAT HOSPITAL, MILAN. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

FIG. 225.—CHAPEL OF S. PETER MARTYR, S. EUSTORGIO, MILAN.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

The successors of Francesco Sforza did not fall behind him in the patronage of art. In the first place we have Galeazzo Maria, eager for display, who, while he himself was erecting, or urging others to erect, palaces, monasteries, and churches, laid heavy burdens (*gravezze*) on the citizens to provide for the paving of the streets and for the adornment of the buildings. Many were the distinguished artists who flocked at this time to the great city.

The arrival of Bramante at Milan may be referred to the year 1474 or thereabouts. He was at that time thirty years old and came from Urbino, a brilliant centre of art and culture. There he had been the companion of a numerous band of artists, among whom Luciano da Laurana, Paolo Uccello, Pier della Francesca, Justus of Ghent, and Melozzo da Forlì, were the most notable. It was from Luciano, no doubt, that Bramante had derived his taste for architecture, from Pier della Francesca and Melozzo his interest in perspective; and these combined to give to his painting—the art he originally practised—its absolutely monumental character. We have records of many paintings executed by him in Rome, at Bergamo, and especially in Milan, but at the present day all that survive are the *Scourging of Christ* in the Cistercian Abbey of Chiaravalle (built between 1135 and 1221), the *Argus* in the Sforza Castello, and the eight frescoes from the Casa Panigarola, now in the Brera (Fig. 226). These works, however, suffice to prove that if Bramante had persevered in the art of painting, he would

FIG. 226.—THE MAN WITH THE HALBERT. (BRAMANTE.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

have taken his place beside the greatest, so thorough is his mastery of form, so certain his drawing, so limpid his chiaroscuro, so pronounced the grandeur and energy of his conceptions; these are gifts which proclaim a temperament akin to that of Luca Signorelli and of Michelangelo. But Bramante preferred to devote himself to architecture, an art in which he so excelled as to win for himself the title of *reformer*, a title, however, which he hardly deserves, seeing that he rather continued, strengthened, and amplified the principles revived by Brunelleschi and followed by Leon Battista Alberti and by Laurana.

FIG. 227.—CHURCH, CASTIGLIONE D'OLONA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Nevertheless, Bramante takes his place as one of the greatest artists, not only of his day but of all time, and he fixed once for all in Lombardy the new type of architecture which had already manifested itself in the Chiesa di Villa (Fig. 227) at Castiglione d'Olona, and at Milan, in the works of Filarete, of Michelozzo, and also of Amadeo. We cannot here enquire into the vexed question of attributions that have arisen concerning Bramante's work. He is assuredly not the author of some delicate buildings in the Tuscan style, such as the Cancelleria in Rome, that contrast so markedly with the essentially Roman firmness and robustness of his little church, S. Pietro in Montorio, or, again, with the marble casing of the House of Nazareth at Loreto, both undoubtedly by the master.

FIG. 228.—CANONICA OF S. AMBROGIO, MILAN. (*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

However, there is a deficiency of documentary evidence, and as a consequence an atmosphere of uncertainty about the work of Bramante during the Milanese period, as, indeed, about his life in

general. The only works we can confidently ascribe to him are the portico of the Canons' residences at S. Ambrogio (Fig. 228), with the knotted columns like barked tree trunks, and the church of S. Satiro (Fig. 230), with the ingenious perspective of the choir, and its sacristy, notable for the grace with which the constituent parts are harmonised, and for its rich vesture of ornament (Fig. 231). The bridge over the moat of the Castle (*la Ponticella*), ascribed to him by Cesariani, has undergone notable transformations in the course of time. Only hypothetically, and in the face of serious opposition, can the name of Bramante be associated with the cupola, the apse and the door of S. Maria delle Grazie (Fig. 229), or with certain cloisters, such as those now incorporated in the Military Hospital, or those of S. Radegonda.

FIG. 229.—CHURCH OF S. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE, MILAN. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

FIG. 230.—ROTONDA OF S. SATIRO, MILAN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

If, however, we must come to the conclusion that many of the buildings given to Bramante in Milan are either of doubtful attribution or manifestly not by him, it must, on the other hand, be pointed out that he left some in Lombardy which are authenticated by documents as well as by their style; for instance, the façade of the Cathedral of Abbiategrasso (Fig. 232) with its vast portico, somewhat similar to that of S. Andrea at Mantua built by Leon Battista Alberti; the little cloister of the Chapter House in the Certosa of Pavia, certain parts of the Cathedral of Como, and the church of Santa Maria di Canepanova at Pavia, which, although begun in 1492, was not finished till some

time after Bramante's death; again the loggias of the castle of Vigevano, and the tower that was built upon the model of other Lombard examples, including that in the castle at Milan ascribed to Filarete, are by Bramante. There is no need to add that, through the length and breadth of Lombardy, many buildings in which he had no hand are assigned to him, showing that in art, as in other matters, "to him that hath shall be given."

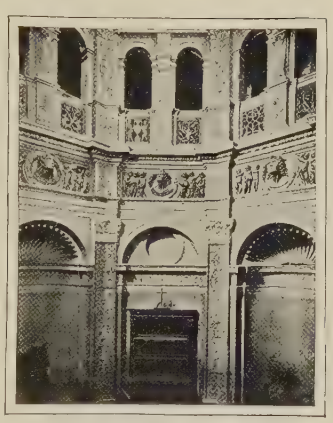

FIG. 231.—SACRISTY OF S. SATIRO, MILAN. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

It is an obvious corollary that the influence of Bramante, whether exercised directly or indirectly, was very great. Approximating to him, or faithful to him in matters of art, were Giovanni Giacomo Dolcebono (d. 1506), the architect of S. Maria presso S. Celso (altered later by Cristoforo Lombardi), and perhaps of the magnificent church of S. Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore (Fig. 233), which, in its turn, underwent changes in the course of its erection; Giovan Battista Battagio of Lodi, the builder of S. Maria della Croce, near Crema (Fig. 235), and, together with Dolcebono, of the Incoronata at Lodi (Fig. 234), still beautiful in spite of badly executed restorations; Francesco da Briosco, and Bartolomeo Suardi, called Bramantino. Cesare Cesariani, too, claimed to be a pupil of Bramante, but at the time when Bramante left Milan, he could have been hardly more than sixteen years old. Cesariani, in 1521, wrote a commentary on Vitruvius; seven years later he was entrusted by Charles V. with the fortification of a part of the Castello; finally he devoted himself to the Cathedral, and it was he who completed the interior as we see it now: he died in 1543. Cristoforo Solari, again, in the

FIG. 232.—CATHEDRAL, ABBIATEGRASSO.

portico of S. Maria presso S. Celso, showed himself to be a follower of Bramante, and, here and there, in certain of their productions, we must reckon as his disciples some other artists, who, as was the case with Solari, are better known as sculptors—Amadeo, Benedetto Briosco, and Tommaso Rodari of Como, who, together with his brothers, Giacomo and Bernardino, executed almost all the marble decorations of the cathedral of Como (Fig. 236).

FIG. 233.—INTERIOR OF SAN MAURIZIO, MILAN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

There is little of the work of the Mantegazza to be found in Milan, if we except the fragments from the façade of S. Satiro which have been brought together in the Museum. Giovanni Antonio Amadeo left more traces in the great city, for he took part in the further extension of the Ospedale Maggiore, collaborated with Dolcebono in the erection of the central tower (p. 130) that rises above the cathedral, and executed various works of sculpture, now for the most part detached from their original positions and preserved in the Museum.

Other artists whose works have for the most part perished or disappeared were Tommaso and Francesco Cazzaniga, followers of Amadeo in the Brivio tomb in S. Eustorgio (Fig. 237); and Andrea Fusina, whose sepulchral monument of the archbishop Birago (1465) and that of Battista Bagaroto (1517) have survived, one in the Chiesa della Passione (Fig. 238), the other in the Museum—he may also be studied in some of the cathedral statues, sedate figures in the classical style. Cristoforo Foppa, known as Caradosso, like Ghiberti, like

FIG. 234.—CHURCH OF THE INCORONATA, LODI. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

the Mantegazza, and like Cellini, passed from goldsmith's work to sculpture on a large scale, visiting in turn the principal artistic centres of Italy. Born in the Brianza country, we find him while still little more than a lad at Rome; then at Milan, at Florence, and then at Rome again; and wherever he went he was busy collecting precious stones and antiquities.

FIG. 235.—S. MARIA DELLA CROCE, CREMA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The minute work of the goldsmith and the diligent search for these little treasures did not in any way hamper the energy of Caradosso's art, an energy which is lacking in the work of Agostino Busti, known as Bambaia (d. 1548); many of this artist's works have indeed been preserved, but we must all lament the dismembering of the sepulchral monument of Gaston de Foix (1515–1521, Fig. 239), as well as that of the Birago tomb (1522), formerly in the church of S. Francesco Grande. As an artist he is full of charm, and the wealth of his composition, together with the grace of the individual figures, at first fills one with admiration; but he does not stand the test of prolonged study, for his fertility often becomes extravagance, and his grace, effeminacy. Bambaia had already fallen into mannerism before the inheritors of the naturalism of the Mantegazza and of Amadeo had reached their goal.

FIG. 236.—SIDE DOOR, CATHEDRAL, COMO. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Perhaps the artist who made the greatest advance was Cristoforo Solari, known as Il Gobbo (born before 1460, died 1527). He began by adding an element of breadth and beauty to the traditional forms of Lombard sculpture; he was able to give a breath of

idealism even to figures treated in the most naturalistic spirit, as we may see in the statues on the tombs of Lodovico il Moro and of Beatrice d'Este. But the influence of Leonardo in the first place, and then his journeys to Rome, led him astray from his true path, and carried him on to attempt an amplitude and grace in his modelling which, being foreign not only to his own temperament, but to that of Lombard art in general, degenerated into an inflated style, soft and nerveless (Fig. 240).

FIG. 237.—BRIVIO MONUMENT, S. EUSTORGIO, MILAN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 238.—MONUMENT TO DANIELE BIRAGO, CHURCH DELLA PASSIONE, MILAN.

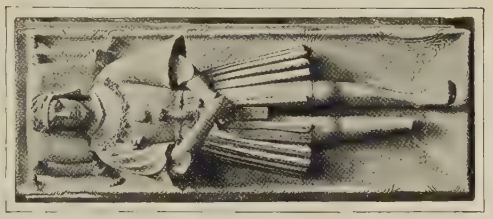

FIG. 239.—FIGURE OF GASTON DE FOIX ON HIS MONUMENT. (BAMBAIA.)
Museum, Milan. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

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FIG. 240.—ADAM, CATHEDRAL, MILAN. (C. SOLARI.)
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 241.—ANNUNCIATION. (LEONARDO DA VINCI.)
Uffizi, Florence. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER XI

LEONARDO DA VINCI

The Reign of Lodovico Sforza, Il Moro.—Leonardo da Vinci summoned by him to Milan.—Leonardo's varied activities. Design for Equestrian Statue of Lodovico.—Portraits. Virgin of the Rocks.—The Last Supper.—Leonardo's return to Florence.—Second Sojourn at Milan.—Visit to France and death at Amboise.

MEANTIME the history of the Sforza family unfolds itself in mingled splendour and tragedy. The great Francesco was succeeded by Galeazzo Maria (1466) who, after a rule of barely ten years, fell by the hand of conspirators, leaving a boy of tender age under the guardianship of his widow, Bona of Savoy, while the reins of the government were entrusted to the prudent hands of Cicco Simonetta. But before long Lodovico di Francesco Sforza, known as Il Moro (Fig. 242), entered upon the scene. Aiming at supreme power, Lodovico stirred up strife between Bona and Simonetta; at his instigation the latter was beheaded, and Bona, with her sickly and semi-imbecile son, was imprisoned at Abbiategrasso.

However, if these ferocious acts show a dark aspect of Lodovico's heart, his merits as a ruler, not only as regards politics, but also in matters of art and science, irradiate his public life. He was indeed diligent, generous, and just, and he raised Milan to equality with the great centres of the Renaissance; he summoned to his court, and maintained there, the most eminent men of the day in every branch of knowledge up to the time when, caught in the net of his own political intrigues and abandoned by fortune, he twice became the prey of the French.

FIG. 242.—PORTRAIT OF LODOVICO IL MORO. (BOLTRAFFIO.)
Trivulzio Collection, Milan.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

It was thanks to Il Moro that the presence of Leonardo shed lustre upon Milan, already the abode of Bramante and of other distinguished artists; his patronage of such a man would alone have sufficed to immortalise the prince, just as the hospitality offered to Dante has ensured fame to Guido Polenta of Ravenna. Nevertheless, we are filled with perplexity when we attempt to follow those who consider the dominant influence of Leonardo on the art of Lombardy as purely beneficent in its results. The reason for this hesitation must be explained later on; for the present let us say a word of the man himself and of his life at Milan; the period, indeed, when we first begin to have any precise knowledge of his works, and of his genius, in a word, of his multiplex, not to say universal activity. Leonardo, in truth, did not devote himself to any single art, but to art itself in every one of its various manifestations, both æsthetic and scientific. The ideal of a perfect and complete man which was peculiar to the Italian spirit, peculiar in an even greater degree to the Renaissance, had never been, nor was ever again to be, so completely exemplified. All the aspects of nature and all the expressions of the spirit ot man attracted him in equal degree; he yearned to investigate, to study, and to know them all. It was this, perhaps, that hindered him from persevering for any length of time in any work undertaken by him, and provoked his contemporaries to charge him with inconstancy and indolence, a charge quite inexplicable to us when we examine the huge mass of his manuscripts and recognise the profundity of

FIG. 243.—DESIGN FOR AN EQUESTRIAN STATUE. (LEONARDO DA VINCI.)
Windsor Castle.

FIG. 244.—ANGEL. (AMBROGIO DE PREDIS.) National Gallery, London. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

his researches, or when, in the presence of his paintings, we note that the perfection of the technique is equalled by the beauty of the forms, and by the expression of intimate emotion.

A man who combined with such commanding merits a personal bearing full of dignity and grace was not likely to escape the notice of a prince who was eager to ennoble his court by summoning to it all who would adorn it by their presence. On the other hand, Leonardo, with his aristocratic tendencies and his thirst for renown, would naturally have preferred a life of splendour at a great court to the more modest life of Florence, at that time distracted with envy and rancour.

Leonardo's wishes, accordingly, so far agreed with Lodovico Sforza's that in 1483 he took his departure from Florence, where he had studied and worked in the studio of Verrocchio, and where he had already painted the Annunciation of the Uffizi (Fig. 241), and sketched out (between 1481 and 1486) the *Adoration of the Magi*, a work entrusted to him by the monks of St. Donato at Scopeto. He took up his abode in Milan, and from this time forward, though busy with designs for festivals, and with projects for hydraulic works and for the fortification of castles, he yet found time and opportunity to devote himself to his favourite researches, nor did he disdain to communicate the results of these to the friends and disciples who formed, as it were, a second court around him.

FIG. 245.—THE VIRGIN OF THE ROCKS. (LEONARDO DA VINCI.) Louvre, Paris. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

His artistic activity embraced at that time a wide field. He drew up plans for secular buildings and for churches, he modelled in clay, and he painted. He devoted much time and labour to the preparation of the model, as well as of large preliminary studies, some of which

have been preserved (Fig. 243), for the colossal equestrian statue of Lodovico Sforza, a work that was never cast; in the course of the war that preceded the ruin of the Sforza the model was brutally destroyed by the French crossbow-men. The fate of his pictures was little better. The portraits he painted for Lodovico have disappeared. The female portrait in the Louvre, in some old reproductions wrongly identified as that of Lucrezia Crivelli, and entitled *La Belle Ferronière,* is now generally assigned to Boltraffio. The *Virgin of the Rocks,* on the other hand, is an undoubted work of Leonardo, and the contention as to whether the original is the painting now in Paris (Fig. 245) or that in London (Fig. 246) must be decided in favour of the former.

FIG. 246.—THE VIRGIN OF THE ROCKS. (LEONARDO DA VINCI.)
National Gallery, London.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

From a document published in 1893 we learn that Leonardo and his pupil, Ambrogio de Predis, had undertaken to provide the Confraternity of the Conception in the church of S. Francesco at Milan with a carved altarpiece, with the Virgin painted in the

FIG. 247.—THE LAST SUPPER. (LEONARDO DA VINCI.)
Refectory of S. Maria delle Grazie, Milan.

centre and an angel on either side. The Virgin (since known as *delle Roccie*) had been already painted by Leonardo, and the two angels by Ambrogio de Predis (Fig. 244). The price, as agreed upon beforehand, was to be three hundred ducats, of which sum one hundred ducats were assigned as payment for the central part executed by Leonardo; but at this point the valuers—*the stimatori*—pronounced in favour of a drastic lowering of the price; in their judgment the Virgin was not worth more than twenty-five ducats. Leonardo naturally protested, and demanded a valuation in agreement with the sum originally bargained for, or failing this, that his picture should be returned to him. The latter course was finally adopted with the understanding that De Predis should substitute for Leonardo's picture a copy, which copy in course of time found its way to London. Though we cannot accept as Leonardo's the *Musician* of the Ambrosian Collection (Fig. 250), nor that singular arrangement of intertwined branches, foliage and shields on the vaulted ceiling of the *Sala delle Asse* in the Castello (recently repainted), nevertheless, Milan still boasts the most important work of the great master, *The Last Supper*, painted by him in tempera on the wall of the refectory of S. Maria delle Grazie between 1495 and 1497 (Figs. 247–249). This is perhaps the most famous picture in the world, and the one that has been most often reproduced. The grandeur of the whole conception, the perfect harmony

FIG. 248.—FRAGMENT OF THE LAST SUPPER. (LEONARDO DA VINCI.)

FIG. 249.—FRAGMENT OF THE LAST SUPPER. (LEONARDO DA VINCI.)

of the composition, the beauty of the forms, the dramatic movements of the Apostles at the terrible words of the resigned victim: "One of you shall betray me,"—fully justify the most ardent and enthusiastic admiration. On either side of Jesus are two groups of three figures; each of these groups, although marvellously defined and complete in itself, is linked to its neighbour by the gestures and the glances of the individual Apostles. Everything is focussed upon Christ, the central figure of the drama, hence it is from Him and to Him that every gesture and every emotion proceed and return.

FIG. 250.—THE MUSICIAN. (ASCRIBED TO L. DA VINCI.) Ambrosiana Gallery, Milan. (*Photo. Montabone.*)

Leonardo remained in Milan up to the year 1499. On the fall of Lodovico il Moro he returned to his native land. He found employment for a time, it is true, in the service of Cesare Borgia, as architect and military engineer (1502), and from time to time visited Milan, but for some years Florence was the seat of his artistic activity. It was there that he executed the cartoon of S. Anne now in London (Fig. 251), as well as the picture, identical in subject but differing in composition, now in the Louvre (Fig. 252); there, too, on the wall of the Sala del Consiglio in the Palazzo della Signoria, he began the *Battle of Anghiari,* and there he painted his marvellous portrait of *Monna Lisa* (Fig. 254), the wife of Francesco del Giocondo (1505), and perhaps also the *St. Jerome in the Desert,* now in the picture gallery of the Vatican (Fig. 253).

FIG. 251.—S. ANNE. CARTOON. (LEONARDO DA VINCI.) Royal Academy, London.

But this constant occupation did not suffice to disguise the scanty sympathy he felt for his Florentine surroundings and the nostalgia that kept his thoughts fixed upon the

more congenial city of Milan. Thus it happened that in 1506 he again turned his steps northward, and in Milan he passed most of his time up to 1516; in that year he accepted the invitation of Francis I. to come to France, as court painter, with an annual salary of 700 crowns. Soon after this, however, Leonardo fell into bad health. In 1519, in the month of April, he made his will at Cloux, near Amboise, and there, on the 2nd of May, 1519, he passed away in the presence of his favourite pupil, Francesco Melzi (1492–1570?), to whom he bequeathed many of his belongings.

FIG. 252.—THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH S. ANNE. (LEONARDO DA VINCI.)
Louvre, Paris.

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FIG. 253.—S. JEROME. (LEONARDO DA VINCI.)
Vatican Gallery, Rome.

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FIG. 254.—PORTRAIT OF MONNA LISA GIOCONDA.
(LEONARDO DA VINCI.)
Louvre, Paris. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 255.—FRESCO IN THE CASA BORROMEO, MILAN.

CHAPTER XII

PAINTING IN LOMBARDY

Tardy Development of Painting.—German Influences.—Giovannino de'Grassi and his Contemporaries.—Foppa.—Civerchio.—Butinone and Zenale.—Bramantino.—Luino and Bergognone.—Solario and Boltraffio.—Luini's Frescoes at Saronno and Elsewhere.—Ambrogio de Predis, and Other Disciples of Leonardo.

THE art of painting in Lombardy developed late. The examples of the Romanesque and Giottesque periods which have survived do not rise above mediocrity. It is often said that they are not only mediocre but few in number; it is our belief, however, that they were originally numerous enough, and that it is the scanty merit of these early works, together with the continual rebuilding that has gone on, above all in Milan, which has tended to reduce the total. However, some few may still be found, especially in Bergamo.

Only four fragments of fourteenth century frescoes are preserved in the Brera; these have been detached from the walls of the church of the Servi. One of them is by Simone da Corbetta (1382), but it betrays great poverty both of form and sentiment. For the rest, the existence of numerous manuscripts illuminated during the course of this century attests an artistic activity which, if not of a lofty nature, was certainly abundant and widely diffused.

But now at the close of the fourteenth century a breath of new pictorial ideas, a movement that little by little spreads over Emilia and over the Marches, passes over Lombardy and the Venetian

territory. The manifest resemblance between the art of Meister Wilhelm of Cologne and that of Stefano of Verona has given rise to the idea that this new movement had its origin in Cologne. In a measure this is true; but still truer is it that at that time, as a consequence of increasing commercial relations and of continual political and religious intercourse, an artistic interaction, fertile in results, was growing up between the different countries of central Europe. Again and again we are distinctly conscious of the presence of these exotic tendencies, manifested in a new search after reality, and a keen love of anecdote, of sport and of costumes. It is exemplified in the works of the brothers Salimbeni of Sanseverino, and in those of Gentile da Fabriano, to say nothing of Giovanni da Modena and of Antonio da Ferrara. Ascending again towards the Alps, these tendencies display themselves, with even greater intensity, in the case of certain artists working between Verona and Piedmont: Stefano da Verona and the great Pisanello himself, Giovannino de' Grassi, Michelino and Leonardo Molinari da Besozzo, the Zavattari, the Milanese artists, Lanfranco and Filippo de' Veri, and finally the painters of the frescoes in the Torriani Chapel in S. Eustorgio, those in the Casa Borromeo in Milan (Fig. 255) and those in the Castello della Manta at Saluzzo.

FIG. 256.—DRAWING. (G. DA CAMPIONE.)
Biblioteca Civica, Bergamo.
(*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

FIG. 257.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (MICHELINO DA BESOZZO.)
Gallery, Siena.

Giovannino de' Grassi is the earliest artist of this period whom we find in Milan. He was there already, at work on sculpture and

on painting in 1389. Seven years later he had finished and delivered the figure of the Samaritan Woman for the piscina in the sacristy of the Cathedral. In a book of drawings preserved at Bergamo he shows himself as an animal painter, full of acuteness of observation, comparable to the Molinari, the Zavattari, the Veronese painters, and Jacopo Bellini. It may be suggested with some plausibility that he was perhaps their exemplar, for he died in 1398, and his birth may be placed about the year 1340. Now Michelino Molinari da Besozzo was at work between 1394 and 1442 (Fig. 257); Leonardo, his son, was working between 1428 and 1488; he was an illuminator of manuscripts, and has left us, among other works, some notable frescoes in the church of S. Giovanni a Carbonara at Naples. Gregorio and Ambrogio Zavattari, the gay and prolific decorators of the Theodolinda Chapel in the Cathedral of Monza (Fig. 258), were still at work after the middle of the fifteenth century. They therefore survived Giovannino de' Grassi by a good half century, and both of them lived long enough to see and to admire the frescoes executed by Masolino da Panicale between 1422 and 1423 in the collegiate church of Castiglione d'Olona, and in 1435 in the Baptistery of the same town (Fig. 259). Further, in Verona we find that Stefano lived from 1375 to 1440 and Pisanello from 1394 to 1455, while

FIG. 258.—EPISODE IN THE LIFE OF QUEEN THEODOLINDA. (ZAVATTARI.)
Cathedral, Monza. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 259.—HEROD'S FEAST. (MASOLINO DA PANICALE.)
Baptistery, Castiglione d'Olona. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

in Venice Jacopo Bellini's life was prolonged till 1470.

The suspicion that Giovannino de' Grassi was an artist of considerable importance, who, like Jacopo Bellini, has long been unjustly forgotten, appears to us to be well founded. But thenceforth a new pictorial sentiment began to diffuse itself over Lombardy; and notably in Milan by means of the works, in the first place, of Vincenzo Foppa, and then of those of Bernardino Butinone and of Bernardo Zenale (both from Treviglio), of Vincenzo Civerchio from Crema, and of others. In the case of some, the names but not the works have been preserved (this has been the fate of the portrait painter Zanetto Bugatto, famous in his day); in the case of others, the works, but not the names, survive.

FIG. 260.—NATIVITY. (CIVERCHIO.)
Brera, Milan.
(*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

Foppa was born between 1425 and 1430 at Brescia, where he remained until 1455. He then removed with his family to Pavia and this town was his habitual residence up to 1490, in which year he returned to Brescia. During his stay in both of these cities he had frequently to absent himself on account of the innumerable commissions that filled up his long and busy life, a life that was prolonged to the year 1516. At Milan he decorated the Banco Mediceo and the Portinari Chapel in S. Eustorgio for Pigello Portinari. His manner shows many affinities with that of the Venetians, more especially with that of Jacopo Bellini, whom he resembled, not only in his precise draughtsmanship, but in his passion for perspective, and for a richly decorated architecture adorned with classical motives. For the rest, Foppa was a noble artist and rich colourist,

FIG. 261.—ADORATION OF THE MAGI. (V. FOPPA.)
National Gallery, London.
(*Photo. Hanfstaengl.*)

FIG. 262.—TWO SAINTS. (ZENALE AND BUTINONE.)
Cathedral, Treviglio. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

them came from Treviglio, and similar in temperament, they indeed be held that this union of forces enhanced the beauty of their works, for there can be little doubt that in the great altar-piece at Treviglio, the rude and sombre style of Butinone and the sweet and clear manner of Zenale (Fig. 262) temper each other to their mutual advantage. The surviving works of the former suffice to establish his personality. The little *Madonna with the Infant Christ* in the Brera (Fig. 264), shows the close connection of Butinone's art with that of Foppa.

The style of painting of the artists whom we may class together as the Foppa group, and among whom we may perhaps include the robust and prolific Donato da Montorfano, long held

save for his flesh tints, which are livid and nacreous (Fig. 261).

The gradual reconstruction of Civerchio's personality has tended more and more to confirm the idea that we may recognise the influence of the Paduans and of Mantegna in his earlier work (Fig. 260). He is the painter of the *Holy Conversation,* in the Louvre, there attributed to Bramantino, and of two Madonnas in private collections at Brescia and in Rome, both glorified with the name of Mantegna.

Bernardino Butinone (1430?–1507) and Bernardo Zenale, who died at the age of ninety in 1526, were followers of Foppa; both of although they were by no means often worked together. It may

FIG. 263. MADONNA AND CHILD ENTHRONED, WITH TWO SAINTS AND A DONOR. (A. BEVILACQUA.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

the field in Milan, although a very different manner, far more vigorous and monumental, had made its appearance there after the year 1474: the manner, that is, of Bramante, of whom we have already spoken. We may perhaps find an explanation of this singular state of affairs in a certain reluctance, in part justified, to welcome exotic methods of art, and again, in the fact that Bramante abandoned painting for architecture, and thus gave a different direction to his influence. However, in the former art, as in architecture, Bramante had a notable disciple in Bartolomeo Suardi (1455?–1536?), called Bramantino from his faithfulness to his master; this was a reasonable devotion, however, which did not prevent him from showing a strong individuality both in technical qualities and sentiment, and, in architecture, a curious preference for horizontal lines to curved ones. His colour is softer than that of Bramante; at times, indeed, as in the *Crucifixion* in the Brera, we find in it an element of mystery, arising from a diffused tonality of blue and green which may best be described as *subaqueous*.

FIG. 264.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (BUTINONE.)

Brera, Milan. *Photo.* (*Anderson.*)

FIG. 265.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS. (BERGOGNONE.)

Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

Bramantino had found a follower in Bernardino Luini, who was perhaps his collaborator in the frescoes of the Pelucca Villa near Monza, frescoes that were subsequently finished by Luini alone; but after this we lose sight of him, and Luini soon took his place in the orbit of Leonardo. On the other hand, the traditions of Foppa and of his school were courageously

maintained by Ambrogio Bergognone (at work 1480–1523), Ambrogio Bevilacqua, known as Liberale, who flourished between 1471 and 1502 (Fig. 263), and others whose names have not yet been connected with any existing works.

FIG. 266.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (LUINI.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

Bergognone, who was probably born at Fossano in the province of Cuneo, was the last valorous champion of the old Lombard school of painting (Fig. 265). His picture, dated 1522, now in the church of the Olivetani of Nerviano, proves that he remained faithful to the end to the programme of his masters, and we can find nothing to contradict this in the great fresco with numerous figures in S. Simpliciano; neither in composition nor in the individual figures does this work depart in any way from the ideal of the *quattrocento*. We do not know the precise date of this masterpiece, but that of the Nerviano panel shows how little change had taken place in the style of Bergognone at the time when Leonardo's *Last Supper* had existed for a quarter of a century.

FIG. 267.—IPPOLITA SFORZA WITH SS. AGNES, SCHOLASTICA, AND CATHERINE. (LUINI.)
S. Maurizio, Milan. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

With Bergognone the hope was finally extinguished that the true Lombard school of painting might combine all its forces in a single great spirit, and definitely achieve the lofty flight that in the case of the Venetian school was accomplished by Titian, in that of the Emilian province by Correggio, in that of Florence by Michelangelo, and in that of Umbria by Raphael. Before the fruit was ripe the tree was cut down. Under the influence, the dread

tyranny one may say, of Leonardo, the forms of the old and sober school were transformed, as by enchantment, and on every face was stereotyped that smile which a happy inspiration, of rhetorician or poet, has christened "enigmatic."

FIG. 268.—THE "MADONNA DEI CASIO." (BOLTRAFFIO.) (*Photo. Giraudon.*)

Thus it came about that it was by the Leonardesque painters that the second phase of the school of Lombardy was once for all definitely determined, by the disciples, that is to say, or the followers of the great Florentine master, many of whom had already attained to a certain maturity before they submitted to him. Among these last we must reckon Andrea Solario, who was living between 1460 and 1515; he was a member of the old family of the Solari, so prolific in artists (p. 134), and brother of Cristoforo, known as Il Gobbo (p. 141). Andrea is especially notable for his treatment of single figures. At times he moves us by an expression of suavity, as, above all, in the mournful figures of his *Ecce Homo* and of his *Christ Bearing the Cross*; at others he surprises us by the subtle drawing of his portraits (Fig. 269). Giovanni Boltraffio (1467–1516) shows the influence of Leonardo more especially in sacred subjects, for when he devotes himself to the portrayal of real persons (Fig. 242) truth compels him to forget the mannerisms of the school.

FIG. 269.—PORTRAIT OF A MAN. (A. SOLARIO.) National Gallery, London. (*Photo. Hanfstaengl.*)

Even Luini (1470?–1532), the greatest of the Lombard painters of this period, is reckoned a pupil of Leonardo; but as we have already stated, he should rather be regarded as a pupil of Bramantino, subsequently carried away by the irresistible current of the group around the great Florentine. Many of his works have been removed from their original positions and transported to the

FIG. 270.—THE THREE ARCHANGELS.
(MARCO DA OGGIONO.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

gallery at Milan. Thus the beautiful fresco, so impressive in its solemnity and peace, showing the body of St. Catherine deposited by angels in the sepulchre, is now in the Brera. There are other paintings that may still be admired in their original positions. In the church at Saronno, near Milan, where in the cupola there is a concert of angels painted by Gaudenzio Ferrari, Luini has covered the walls with frescoes, comprising, in addition to several smaller narrative subjects, two vast scenes with many figures—the *Adoration of the Magi*, and the *Presentation in the Temple*. Again, in the church of S. Maria degli Angeli at Lugano, he carried out a magnificent representation of the *Passion of Christ*, which in composition and in wealth of incident recalls the work of contemporary German painters, while the treatment of the individual figures reveals the influence of Leonardo. Finally, in the church of the Monastero Maggiore, Milan, he has left us a valuable series of frescoes (Fig. 267).

But it is in the easel pictures of Luini and of the other Lombard painters of the day, that the influence of Leonardo is most obvious; many of these panels have long been assigned to the master himself, and indeed, in the types and expressions of the figures, if not in the acuteness of the characterisation, they have much in common with his genuine works.

FIG. 271.—HOLY CONVERSATION.
(GIAMPIETRINO.)
National Museum, Naples.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

In addition to the painters who have already been mentioned, others who belonged to this prolific school were Ambrogio de

Predis, who was living between 1450 and 1520 (Fig. 244) and Francesco Melzi (see pp. 147, 148, and 150), Bernardino de' Conti (1450 – 1528), Andrea Salaino, who flourished between 1490 and 1520, but whose artistic personality has not as yet been defined, Marco da Oggiono, whose somewhat heavy hand in colour and design contrasts with the refined forms and well-balanced composition of Cesare da Sesto (1477–1527, Fig. 272); Gian Pietro Rizzi, known as Giampietrino (Fig. 271), whose Madonnas and *puttini* are full of grace, but who becomes wearisome with his endless nude half figures of Lucretia or of the Magdalen; Cesare Magni, incorrect and feeble, and Francesco Napoletano, with his puffy forms and strong chiaroscuro (Fig. 273); all these last artists were working simultaneously. Finally Bartolomeo Veneto also (1480–1555), though he was trained in the school of Giovanni Bellini, ended by yielding to the Leonardesque influence (p. 56, and Fig. 103).

FIG. 272.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (CESARE DA SESTO.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

Nor, as concerns Northern Italy, was the influence of Leonardo confined to Lombardy, for, as we shall see, it extended over the neighbouring Piedmont; neither was it restricted to painting; it extended to sculpture, to which it gave a soft and melting quality, foreign alike to nature and to the Lombard tradition.

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FIG. 273.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (F. NAPOLETANO.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

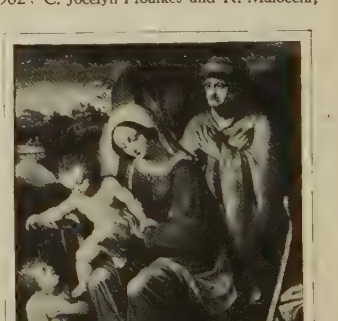

FIG. 274.—HOLY FAMILY. (CESARE MAGNI.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

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FIG. 275.—COURT OF THE SEMINARY, MILAN. (G. MEDA.) (*Photo. Brogi.*)

CHAPTER XIII

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE IN MILAN FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Fusion of Lombard Art into the National Style.—Fall of the Sforza.—Milan under the Spaniards.—Pellegrino Pellegrini.—Martino Bassi.—Alessi.—The Trabeated Loggia.—Architects of the Second Rank in Milan.—Milan under Austrian Rule.—Piermarini.—Bonaparte at Milan.—Sculptors at Milan in the Baroque Period.—Canova.—Modern Sculptors.

THE School of Leonardo was not replaced in Lombardy by any other with a definite character of its own. Under the Roman influence of the followers of Michelangelo and Raphael, the artistic types of the various districts became definitely fused and unified as time went on, finally building up a national style from which the painting of Venice alone escaped. The vicissitudes of the political world had extinguished one aspect of Milanese life. The house of Sforza, whose splendour was based both on individual taste and on the wish to rival the other Italian courts, came to an end, it may be said, on the day when Lodovico il Moro fell into the hands of the French at Novara. After this time, during the brief intervals when, amid wars, massacres, and plots, the sons of Il Moro, protected rather by masters than by supporters, appeared upon the scene, there was no revival of the fine arts, nor were they furthered by the Spanish rule, which, after its establishment in Milan in 1535, held its ground, hostile and perverse, for almost two centuries.

We note with wonder, however, how the inborn energy of the Lombard race and the productive vigour that had distinguished the people of Milan for centuries were still, in spite of an inevitable tendency to decadence, able to find expression in remarkable works and in flourishing industries, notwithstanding the ever-growing restraints of Spanish suspicion and oppression. Nor, amid their fervid enjoyment of life and their eager demand for pleasure, was there any falling off in religious enthusiasm among the Milanese; it was in the sixteenth century that this spirit found a notable ornament and example in S. Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584), the founder of so many churches, convents, and beneficent institutions.

FIG. 276.—PORTA ROMANA, MILAN. (M. BASSI.) (*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

Endless is the succession of architects, of sculptors, and of painters, who were at work in Milan during the Spanish period, even if we take no note of the men employed in the minor arts (the goldsmiths, the gem-cutters, the ceramic artists, and the bell-founders), and in the manufacture of arms. The patronage of a single family, that of the Sforza, was now replaced by that of some ten or even twenty families who had been enriched by the greater industries, and this, together with other causes, promoted the growth of an artistic eclecticism.

FIG. 277.—COURT OF THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE, MILAN. (PELLEGRINI.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The most prominent artist at Milan in the second half of the sixteenth century was Pellegrino Pellegrini (d. 1596), called Tibaldi after his father and his grandfather. Pellegrino was born in Valsolda in 1527, but while still a lad he had been taken to

Bologna by his father, who was employed there in various building operations. Now Bologna was at that time a notable artistic centre, so that Pellegrino had full opportunity of developing his manifold artistic gifts, of which, as we shall see in due course, he gave many magnificent examples. Passing to Milan, he placed himself at the disposal of Cardinal Borromeo, and became in succession architect to the state and to the conservators of the cathedral (1567). He now threw aside everything that linked him with the past to follow freely his own taste and that of his age; we have evidence of this in the baptistery, in the altars of the side aisles, in the choir, in the presbytery (with the high altar and the ciborium), to say nothing of the lower part of the façade, the design of which, although only carried out later by Ricchini, was due to him. This break with the past, although a proof of the sincerity of Pellegrino, could not lead to any satisfactory result in the case of a building where every part should have been in harmony with a dominant architectural conception consecrated by the labours of nearly two centuries. Thus it happens that, though we may sincerely admire portions of the work executed by him in the cathedral when these are judged on their own merits, we find more pleasure in the study of his architecture in buildings both planned and carried out by him, as, for instance, the courtyard of the archbishop's palace (Fig. 277) and the mag-

FIG. 278.—COURT OF THE PALAZZO MARINO, MILAN. (GALEAZZO ALESSI.) (*Photo. Brogi.*)

FIG. 279.—PALAZZO DEI GIURECONSULTI, MILAN (V. SEREGNI.) (*Photo. Brogi.*)

nificent church of San Fedele, erected in Milan for the Jesuits at the instance of Carlo Borromeo.

As an architect it was not only to the influence of Michelangelo that he was subjected, but in an equal degree to that of Jacopo Sansovino, who was more inclined to the rich fusion of the architectural with the ornamental line. In his prodigious activity and in the variety of his gifts Pellegrino was a typical artist of the Renaissance; he did not shrink from any task, and he busied himself both with hydraulic undertakings and with the planning of fortifications.

FIG. 280. VILLA SIMONETTA, NEAR MILAN. (D. GUINTALLODI.) (*Photo. Montabone.*)

The success of his architectural work at Milan and in other cities—as at Varallo, where he built the church of the Sacro Monte, and at Novara, where he built the church of S. Gaudenzio and the Palazzo Bellini—procured him an invitation from Philip II., who in 1587 summoned him to Spain. There he was chiefly occupied in painting, above all in the Escurial, a palace where the art of Italy, as represented by the works of Luca Giordano, of Federico Zuccari, of the Leoni, and of Giacomo Trezzo, covers so wide a field. Pellegrino remained eight or nine years in Spain, and he died shortly after his return to Milan. This was in 1596, when his rival, Martino Bassi, who had barely reached the age of fifty, had already been five years in his grave.

FIG. 281.—CHURCH OF S. ALESSANDRO, MILAN. (G. L. BINAGO.) (*Photo. Brogi.*)

This Martino had been a severe critic of the works of Pellegrino, and as he was "learned in Vitruvius and in statics," and further,

a man of calm judgment, his criticism was competent and formidable. But, as often happens in such cases, when it came to competing with Pellegrino in actual works, he showed himself by no means his equal. Nevertheless, his Porta Romana (Fig. 276), and his work in the remodelling of the interior of S. Lorenzo and in the building of the cupola of that church (Fig. 214), are much admired.

FIG. 282.—PALAZZO, LITTA, MILAN.
(F. M. RICCHINI.) (*Photo. Brogi.*)

Of Alessi we shall have to speak at greater length in connection with the art of Genoa, where his activity was principally exercised. But we must note here that in Milan he designed the church of S. Vittore (1560). The architectural work, however, that has brought him most fame, was the great palace entrusted to him in 1558 by the Genoese merchant, Tommaso Marino, which still retains the name of the Marino Palace, in spite of the fact that the commercial failure of its munificent owner caused it to pass almost at once into the hands of the Government, who in 1859 ceded it to the municipality. The exterior of the Marino Palace is stately and elegant, and the rich decoration of the inner court is full of movement and life (Fig. 278); but traces may be already discovered of certain motives which, carried to excess at a later time, became the trivialities that offend us on the façade of S. Maria presso S. Celso.

FIG. 283.—THE BRERA, MILAN.
(F. M. RICCHINI.) (*Photo. Brogi.*)

It was at this time, during the second half of the sixteenth century, that the art of Vincenzo Seregni and Giuseppe Meda was developed. The first of these architects is known above all by his Palazzo dei Giureconsulti

(1564, Fig. 279), a building that was copied in the succeeding century in the Scuole Palatine; the second owes his fame to the *cortile* of the Archbishop's Seminary (Fig. 275), which Fabio Mangone (d. 1629) elected to imitate in his courtyard of the Collegio Elvetico, a palace that in later days became the home of the Senate, and now houses the state archives. The courtyards of these two palaces are, in similar fashion, surrounded by a trabeated loggia of two storeys, an arrangement more frequently adopted in Milan than elsewhere.

FIG. 284.—PALAZZO CUSANI, NOW HEADQUARTERS OF THE MILITARY DIVISION. (A. M. RUGGERI.) (*Photo Brogi.*)

This trabeated loggia is common in Florence, but it is practically confined to the summits of buildings. It was used, indeed, by Brunelleschi in the Pazzi Chapel, but here he broke the horizontal line with a great central arch. Peruzzi used it in the Palazzo Massimo in Rome, Vasari in the Uffizi, and Da Valle in the Paduan University; but in this they had no imitators. At Bologna it made its appearance at a later date. But everywhere the arch found greater favour. To whom are we to attribute the first introduction or the popularisation in Milan of this trabeated form, a form that survived even into the nineteenth century in the architectural works of Amati (Fig. 287) and of Perego (Fig. 286)? To Bramante? As far back as the sixteenth century Cesariani ascribed to him the *Ponticella* of the Castello, and again, in Rome, the cloisters of S. Maria della Pace are attributed to him; in both these buildings the horizontal line of

FIG. 285.—ARCH OF PEACE, MILAN. (L. CAGNOLA.) (*Photo. Brogi.*)

the architrave above the columns gives repose to the composition. The two storeys, again, may be seen in a house of the Via Torino (Nos. 10–12) which dates back to the period of the Sforza. But it was only in 1547, in the "Villa della Simonetta" (which Domenico Guintallodi of Prato built in the suburbs of Milan for Ferrante Gonzaga, Duke of Guastalla), that this form appeared in the aspect which was to inspire the architect Meda, and, through Meda, to reach Mangone (Fig. 280).

FIG. 286.—PALAZZO ROCCA-SAPORITI, MILAN. (PEREGO.) (*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

In Milan there was no great change in the main lines of the architecture during the seventeenth century; it remained faithful to the doctrines taught in the preceding century, and although we do not find, as at Rome and at Venice, any architects of the first rank, the city can boast quite a number of men whose skill and industry gave distinction to the whole city, endowing it with many notable buildings, both civil and religious.

FIG. 287.—CHURCH OF S. CARLO, MILAN. (C. AMATI.) (*Photo. Brogi.*)

The opening years of this century gave us the works of the already-mentioned Fabio Mangone; those of the Padre Gian Lorenzo Binago, the architect of the church of S. Alessandro (1602, Fig. 281); those of Pietro Antonio Barca, the chief architect of the Palazzo di Giustizia, begun in 1607; and of Francesco Maria Ricchini, the most important architect of this period; it is to him (assisted occasionally by his son Domenico, or from time to time by others) that we owe the Durini (1603) and the Litta (Fig. 282) palaces and, perhaps,

also that of the Annoni family; the vast and magnificent Brera (1615, Fig. 283), and other buildings.

In 1712 the Milanese territory was handed over to Austria, who ruled it infinitely better than Spain had done. The change of government, however, had no appreciable influence upon the world of art, which went its way, faithful to the national traditions; at the most taking on a somewhat more graceful character, thanks to the greater lightness of ornamental detail. We have fine examples of the art of this period in the Palazzo Sormani, built by Francesco Croce (he was also the author of the great pinnacle of the cathedral), in the interior of which much of the old furniture is still preserved; the Palazzo Cusani (now the headquarters of the Military Division), of which Anton Maria Ruggeri was the architect (Fig. 284); and the Palazzo Clerici, where, in one of the rooms, G. B. Tiepolo has spread a feast for the eyes, overflowing with his fantasy and his magnificent colour.

FIG. 288.—GALLERIA VITTORE EMANUELE, MILAN. (G. MENGONI.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 289.—SAVINGS BANK, MILAN. (*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

Architecture in Milan during the last third of the eighteenth century was entirely dominated by Giuseppe Piermarini of Foligno (1734–1808), a disciple of Luigi Vanvitelli. It was he who, in place of the *rococo* then in fashion, substituted forms of a simpler character, and thus, it may be said, prepared the way for the neo-classicism of later days. It would be impossible to enumerate all his works here: suffice it to say that he restored the Royal Palace, built the Scala Theatre, the Palazzo Belgioioso, and in the environs of Milan, the Villa di Monza, and the Villa Adda at Cassano. Piermarini was appointed by Maria

FIG. 290.—PIUS IV. (ANGELO DE MARINIS.)
Cathedral, Milan. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

Theresa professor of architecture in the Brera Academy, founded in 1776, and he was thus able to train a whole generation of architects who developed their activity in that prosperous period during which Milan was under French rule, that is to say, from May, 1796, when General Bonaparte took the town from the Austrians, until 1814, when it was restored to them.

What a period of glory was this for Milan and for Lombardy! In the domain of letters and of science it was the time of Pietro and Alessandro Verri, of Giuseppe Parini, of Ugo Foscolo and Vincenzo Monti, of Alessandro Volta, of Barnaba Oriani, and many more! Some of these men barely outlived the year 1796, others still flourished in 1814; but all of them, in greater or lesser degree, contributed to the Napoleonic splendour. We shall see later who were the painters and sculptors of this time. Among the architects let us mention Simone Cantoni (1736–1818), who built the Palazzo Serbelloni; Giuseppe Zancia (1752–1818), who built the Porta Nuova; Lodovico Pollak (1752–1806), who built the Villa Reale; Luigi Cagnola (1762–1833), who built the Arco della Pace (Fig. 287); and Giuseppe Perego (1776–1817), who built the Palazzo Rocca-Saporiti (Fig. 286).

FIG. 291.—S. BARTHOLOMEW. (MARCO D'AGRATE.)
Cathedral, Milan.
(*Photo. Brogi.*)

Whatever may be thought of the architecture of the neo-classical period, no one can deny that this architecture possesses a unity of aim and a harmony of method that give it a definite place in the history of art. After this time there was no agreement as to the path to be followed, and architects, no less than their patrons, vied with one another (as indeed they still do) in their uncertainty as to the choice of one style rather than another. If, nevertheless, here and there some

notable building has emerged from the aggregate of eccentricities, we must regard it as the result of individual studies and of personal taste, as, for instance, Carlo Amati's church of S. Carlo, finished in 1847 (Fig. 287), or the Cassa di Risparmio (Savings Bank) (Fig. 289), built by Giuseppe Balzaretti (1801–1874). Giuseppe Mengoni (1827–1877) has given us a proof of even greater skill, if of less refined taste, in the construction of the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele, planned in the form of a Latin cross and roofed with glass. The general effect is too theatrical, but it cannot be denied that this arcade is distinguished by a certain grandeur and novelty of conception (Fig. 288).

FIG. 292.—PALAZZO DEGLI OMENONI, MILAN. (LEONE LEONI) (*Photo. Brogi.*)

* * *

FIG. 293.—MARTYRDOM OF S. AMBROSE. (C. SIMONETTA.) Cathedral, Milan. (*Photo. Lissoni.*)

As might be expected, the exuberance of the decorative elements in the buildings erected during that long period known as the Baroque, caused the number of sculptors to exceed even that of the architects. Over the exterior as well as in the interior of every church spread a vigorous and intricate vegetation, interspersed with figures of saints, of *puttini*, of animals, symbols, and so forth. Statuaries and ornamentists swarmed in every corner of Italy, and it must be acknowledged that these men showed a fervour of invention and a courage in execution that in the remote centres of art is not to be discovered either before or after. There was now an end of *provincial* art, and in every direction facility and promptness of execution is to be found. How is it possible, and indeed what end would it serve, to collect the names of the

FIG. 294.—ELISHA. (C. RUSNATI.) Cathedral, Milan. (*Photo. Lissoni.*)

virtuosi of this time except in a few individual cases? They are to be reckoned by the thousand, and there is not one quiet town that cannot point with pride to more than one worthy sculptor who has made a name for himself with the chisel and the modelling tool. After Rome, Milan was perhaps at this time the city that held the greatest swarm of sculptors. This we must attribute, apart from her wealth, to the work still carried on in the cathedral, where, as we have said, more than a thousand sculptors collaborated; of these about a half worked in the period between the year 1500 and the present day, that is to say, more than two hundred in the sixteenth century, about a hundred in the seventeenth, some sixty or so in the eighteenth, about one hundred and thirty in the nineteenth, and already some twenty in the present century. And there were many others living in Milan who found employment, not in the cathedral, but in other churches, and in the numerous palaces that were in course of erection or of reconstruction.

FIG. 295.—JUSTICE. (F. ZARABATTA.) Cathedral, Milan. (*Photo. Lissoni.*)

To discern and to follow up the various sources of influence and the various schools of Lombard sculpture in the sixteenth century would be a difficult, not to say an impossible, task. A gentle infusion of Bambaia's art is clearly to be seen, more especially in the works of Gian Giacomo della Porta, of Cristoforo Lombardo, of Giulio da Oggiono, and of others; then, again, the influence of Michelangelo and of Sansovino cannot be denied, an influence easy to be explained in a town where Pellegrini ruled for so long, and in such close relation to Francesco Brambilla. Not a few artists combined the

two manners, or rather attempted to do so, passing from the first style to make their way into the second, in other words attempting to give the muscles of heroes to their decrepit figures!

Such phases as these in the history of art are so full of inequality and confusion, that it is impossible for criticism to establish clear divisions or to fix definite criteria. Add to this that in Milan at this time we look in vain for any artist of eminence capable of eliminating the weak elements and concentrating the strong in a characteristic and well-defined creation. Nevertheless, works well worthy of study have been left us by Marco d'Agrate (working 1522–1571), whose modelling is uniformly accurate, but who owes his fame above all to his "anatomical" figure of St. Bartholomew (Fig. 291); by Angelo de Marinis (working 1556–1584), sober and restrained in his statue of Pius IV. (Fig. 290), but generally emotional, elegant and sometimes even sensuous in style; by Stoldo Lorenzi and Annibale Fontana (1540–1587), who in the extensive work they carried out on the façade of S. Maria presso S. Celso showed that, while accepting Michelangelo's reform, they were careful to modify its audacities. But the foremost sculptor of the day was Leone Leoni (1509–1592); he had also a successful career in Spain, where his work was continued by his son Pompeo, who died at Madrid in 1610. Leoni made some long sojourns in Milan at various times between 1555 and 1585, and there he built for himself a very singular house, known as the Palazzo degli Omenoni, from the colossal statues—*telamoni*—which adorn the façade (Fig. 292). His principal work in Milan is the monument to Gian Giacomo de' Medici in the Cathedral.

FIG. 296.—S. ROSALIE. (C. F. MELONE.) Cathedral, Milan. (*Photo. Lissoni.*)

FIG. 297.—S. DOROTHEA. (D. BUSSOLA.) Cathedral, Milan. (*Photo. Lissoni.*)

Among the sculptors of the seventeenth century who attained to some repute, were

FIG. 298.—NAPOLEON I. (CANOVA.)
Brera, Milan.

Gaspare Vismara, who died in 1651, after having held the post of chief sculptor to the cathedral for some forty years; Gian Battista Maestri, known as Volpino (d. 1680), the sculptor of the imposing figure of Sant' Aurea in the Cathedral; Carlo Simonetta (d. 1693), careful and academic (Fig. 293); Stefano Sampietro (d. 1716); Dionigi Bussola, weak in his heroic attempts, but pleasing enough in his female statues, as we see in his *S. Dorothea* (Fig. 297); Andrea Prevosto, and Giuseppe Rusnati, who died in 1713, and with whom we pass into the eighteenth century (Fig. 294).

Sculpture in Milan, although it still preserved its Baroque character, as time went on gradually became more subtle and refined under the influence of such French artists as Coysevox, Girardon, Puget, Coustou, and others. An increase in grace is indeed the feature that chiefly distinguishes this art from the preceding period, and this grace was the special quality which the French masters had imposed upon the Italian sculpture of the *cinquecento*, and upon the Bernini school of the seventeenth century, from which Girardon mainly drew his inspiration. Nor should we forget, in considering the sculpture of this long period, derisively christened Baroque, that even if we condemn the conception and forms of individual works, we must recognise its perfect and superb decorative propriety, and its vivid and vital portraiture.

FIG. 299.—JUDAS MACCABEUS (G. MONTI), and MATTATHIAS. (G. B. PERABÒ.)
Cathedral, Milan.
(*Photo. Lissoni.*)

The most admired sculptors in Milan in the eighteenth century were Francesco Zarabatta, notable for his, at that time, unusual restraint (Fig. 295); Carlo Francesco Melone, whose modelling is full of grace (Fig. 296); Carlo Maria Giudici (1723–1804, Fig. 300) and Giuseppe Franchi (1729–1806), the last two, artists of a transition period, in whose work the restlessness of the

eighteenth century is combined with a cold academic solemnity in a manner not altogether unattractive.

Meantime Antonio Canova, of whom we have already spoken, triumphed, and with him neo-classicism triumphed unopposed in the Academy of Fine Arts established in the Brera, where Andrea Appiani applied the same principles to painting. There flourished at that time in Milan, where the influence of Canova was strengthened by various remarkable examples of his work (Fig. 298), several artists of respectable eminence who remained faithful to their banner even for some time after the fall of the Empire, but who worked under the chilling influence of an external theory which may justly be called archæological, rather than under the warm breath of a living internal fire. Hence their art is monotonous, and it is monotonous also in its smooth and uniform technique; this was a reaction from the work of Bernini and his followers who had given pictorial values to the marble, furrowing the material in various ways, leaving it opaque in one place, in another translucent. Among the sculptors of this long period we may mention G. B. Perabò (Fig. 299) and Abondio Sangiorgio (1798–1879) to whom we owe the sestiga on the Arco della Pace (Fig. 285).

FIG. 300.—S. JEROME. (C. M. GIUDICI.) Cathedral, Milan.

To these men, who were ousted by the triumph of Romanticism (see p. 95), succeeded Pietro Magni (1817–1877, Fig. 301), Vincenzo Vela (1820–1891, Fig. 303), Odoardo Tabacchi (1831–1905, Fig. 302), Francesco Barzaghi (1839–1892), celebrated chiefly for his equestrian statue of Napoleon III., and Giuseppe Grandi (1843–1894), whose beautiful statue of Beccaria has, strange to say, been

FIG. 301.—MONUMENT TO LEONARDO DA VINCI. (P. MAGNI.) Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 302.—
S. MARY OF EGYPT.
(O. TABACCHI.)
Cathedral, Milan.

pronounced by some critics inferior to his confused and pretentious *Monument of the Five Days.*

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FIG. 303.—LAST DAYS OF NAPOLEON. (VINCENZO VELA.)
Museum, Versailles.

FIG. 304.—BURIAL OF THEMISTOCLES. (G. BOSSI.)
Museum of the Castle, Milan. (*Photo. Montabone.*)

CHAPTER XIV

PAINTING IN MILAN AFTER THE SCHOOL OF LEONARDO

Eclectic Character of Painting in Lombardy.—The Procaccini.—Cerano.—Caravaggio and Zuccari at Milan.—Painters during the French Occupation.—Appiani.—The Brera Gallery.—The Romanticists and Francesco Hayez.

FROM the close of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century Lombardy could boast of many good painters, but not of any individual school. Her painters were more or less followers of the schools then flourishing at Venice, at Rome, and more especially at Bologna, but they never succeeded in creating a distinct type of their own, differing from the others, and easily recognisable.

It should be noted that after the extinction of the school of Leonardo and before the arrival of the Procaccini from Bologna, a group of painters from Cremona and from Lodi worked with much success at Milan; besides the members of the Campi and Piazza families, and that Nicolà d'Appiano who has been identified by some with the Pseudo-Boccaccino, we find Giovan Paolo Lomazzo (1538–1600), a mannered but vivacious artist, and the author of an interesting treatise on painting, and his disciple, Ambrogio Figino (1548–1600?), a mediocre painter of historical subjects, but a successful portraitist (Fig. 305).

FIG. 305.—PORTRAIT OF LUCIO FOPPA. (A. FIGINO.)
Brera, Milan.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

The lack of biographical material concerning the family of the Procaccini is one of the many gaps in the history of art. All we know of them is still confined to the scanty notices of the old writers. And yet they were a family of artists of no little importance, and comparatively modern, concerning whom we might expect the archives to furnish us with an abundant harvest, or at any rate to give us the important dates. But what attempt has yet been made to establish the birth year or the death year of Ercole Procaccini, the elder, or those of his sons, Camillo, Giulio Cesare, and Carlo Antonio? Who has inquired into the interesting question of the date when this family of artists passed from Bologna to Milan? There is some evidence that it was about 1570, but nothing definite is known. According to Baldinucci, Giulio worked at first as a sculptor, but after a time he abandoned the practice of sculpture and devoted himself to painting. Now, in contradiction to this statement, there is strong evidence that Giulio never, or only very late in life, gave up the practice of sculpture, since as late as 1617, when he had for some years past taken to painting also, he undertook to carve for the Cathedral of Milan (for which building he had already executed several statues) a group representing the "Disputation in the Temple," a work that was ultimately carried out by others.

FIG. 306.—THE MAGDALEN. (G. C. PROCACCINI.)
Brera, Milan.
(*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

From what masters did Camillo and Giulio learn their art? What artists did they select for imitation? Their father was, no doubt, their master, but the painters of the magnificent school of Parma—Correggio and Parmigianino—were their exemplars, while it was not in vain that they had studied the works of Federico Barocci, who had paid several visits to Milan between 1592 and 1602.

As we shall see, the Bolognese painters of the last quarter of the sixteenth century scorned the formulas of the Roman school; they admired the splendours of the Venetians, but it was the school of Parma that they followed almost without reservation. We cannot now say whether it is true that Giulio Procaccini, as Ticozzi relates, succeeded in imitating the pictures of Correggio so as to deceive the best experts. It is at least certain that several of his works, both in public and private galleries, are attributed to Parmigianino. Although the tendency to exaggerated length that we find in the somewhat effeminate forms of the latter artist is corrected in the figures of Giulio Procaccini, yet the types selected, their iridescent colour enlivened by unexpected ruddy passages, and their poses are the true offspring of those graceful creations which issued from the brain and brush of the Emilian master (Fig. 306). Malvasia declared that Camillo was *tutto piacevole e vago* and Giulio *tutto severo e forte.* These are adjectives thrown out, as it were, at hazard, without much reflection, seeing that any quality might be denied to Giulio rather than *gentleness* and *charm,* while these, on the other hand, are qualities that we seek in vain in Camillo, an artist whose colour has less suavity and whose design has less grace.

FIG. 307.—MARTYRDOM OF S. ALEXANDER.
(E. SALMEGGIA.)
Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.
(*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

And this, too, must have been the opinion of contemporary artists, seeing that, as a master, they gave the preference to Giulio. A disciple who was faithful to him for a considerable time was Enea Salmeggia, known as Talpino (1550–1626, Fig. 307); associated with the latter we find Daniele Crespi, and the two Nuvoloni brothers (known also as Panfilo from the name of their father, a Cremonese painter) drew their inspiration from his works.

The seventeenth century biographers provide scanty notices, and these uncertain and contradictory, concerning Gian Battista (1557–1633), the father of Daniele Crespi, who was known as Cerano from his birthplace in the province of Novara. They

agree, however, in the statement that as a youth he was sent to study at Rome and at Venice; he then settled in Milan, where he was appointed Court painter and superintendent of the works of statuary in the cathedral (from 1629 to the day of his death); he also obtained the patronage of Cardinal Borromeo, and he has left highly appreciated works in the city, both pictorial and architectural. We see in his pictures the influence of the Novara school; we may judge that from a child he had had before his eyes many works by Gaudenzio Ferrari; and if something non-Lombard in origin is to be discovered in them, it consists of certain fugitive reminiscences of Federico Barocci and Il Rosso Fiorentino, from whom he would seem to have derived the boy angel who is bending strenuously over the big viola, and whose little many-coloured wings are quivering with the effort—the delicious motive to be found in the large picture in the Brera. Cerano, however, is more *modern* in his brushwork than either Il Rosso or Barocci, and it was he, perhaps, who first made use of silvery passages, and of those vitreous glazings, which, after their triumphant application in the works of Giuseppe Maria Crespi, known as Lo Spagnuolo, were adopted by Piazzetta and Tiepolo.

FIG. 308.—DEATH OF THE VIRGIN. (MICHELANGELO DA CARAVAGGIO.)
The Louvre, Paris.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

When we examine the pictures of the Procaccini and Cerano we cannot but feel surprised to find that they are entirely free from the academic influence of Federico Zuccari (who was working in Milan in 1597 and again in 1601), as well as from the stern and troubled naturalism of Michelangelo Merisio da Caravaggio (1569–1609, Fig. 308). It is true that the latter, as a result of his violence and eccentricity, had early to leave Caravaggio

FIG. 309.—THE PAINTER'S FAMILY. (C. F. NUVOLONI.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

and Milan, seeking work elsewhere, and more often finding strife and penalties; but he had already painted subject pictures and portraits in Lombardy, and his manner, which, both in conception and in execution, had a certain tragic efficiency, had won him admirers even in that Bolognese School against which he had battled, and at a later date fervent followers in Southern Italy. Here, unconsciously, he was the founder of a school which, culminating in Ribera, Mattia Preti, and others, came to be known as *Neapolitan*.

FIG. 310.—RUSTIC SCENE. (F. LONDONIO.) Cassano d'Adda, Villa Borromeo, Milan. (*Photo. Montabone.*)

Daniele Crespi, as far as can be judged from the works that are assigned to him, likewise escaped all influence from this quarter. But unfortunately these do not allow us to define his artistic personality with absolute precision, so various are they in execution. Born at Busto Arsizio in 1590, he studied under his father Cerano and with Giulio Procaccini; he found employment in the Certosa of Pavia, and in the Ducal Palace at Milan; and finally he died of the plague at Milan in 1630, when he had barely completed his fortieth year.

Daniele Crespi, then, founded no school, and in this he differed from Pier Francesco Mazzucchelli (1571–1626), known as Il Morazzone from the place of his birth, near Varese. In his case, again, there is a deficiency of biographical detail; nor can we place much reliance upon those critics who, on the ground that as a youth he went to Rome, describe him as influenced by the schools there in vogue at the close of the sixteenth century. It is evident that he developed under the influence of Lombard and Bolognese masters, more especially under that of Camillo Procaccini. Under the

FIG. 311.—CUPID AND PSYCHE. (G. TRABALLESI.) Frizzoni Collection, Milan. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 312.—APOLLO AND DAPHNE.
(A. APPIANI.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

protection of Cardinal Borromeo he found extensive employment in Lombardy, and he was about to undertake the decoration of the cupola of the cathedral of Piacenza at the time of his death.

After this time there was a sensible falling off in Lombard painting, and the obscurity of the artists of the day corresponds to the slight importance of their works. That they were experts in the handling of the brush is all that can be said of them for the most part. Some few are on a slightly higher level, as Francesco Londonio (1723–1782), a most prolific painter of pastoral subjects (Fig. 310), and as a painter of animals worthy of a place beside Rosa da Tivoli and Castiglioni; finally, Giuliano Traballesi (1727–1812), who migrated from Florence to Milan, and there applied himself to decorative work with a grace and dexterity (Fig. 311) derived to some extent from Tiepolo; he has left marvellous decorations in Milan in the Clerici, Archinti, and Dugnani Palaces, to say nothing of his work in S. Ambrogio.

FIG. 313.—THE ANTIQUARY.
(D. INDUNO.)
Accademia, Florence. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

When subsequently, during the "French" period, Milan became the most important city of Italy, and when, as we know, artistic taste took another direction, some painters of true merit flourished in the city, such as Giovanni Bellati (1745–1808), Giuseppe Mazzola (1748–1838), and Giuseppe Bossi (1777–1815), an artist of much culture and refinement (Fig. 304). It is to him, to the learned Carlo Bianconi, writer on art and indefatigable collector, and to Andrea Appiani, that we owe the inauguration of

the magnificent Brera Gallery. Appiani, we may mention, was the most celebrated and authoritative artist of the Napoleonic period in Milan, and, after Canova and David, the most convinced and thorough-going representative of neo-classicism. Hence it can readily be understood that he had greater success in mythological subjects (Fig. 312) than in those derived from sacred or profane history. Appiani, however, was no slave to his school, for a certain individuality both of sentiment and of execution distinguishes him from his contemporaries. He excels, too, in his portraits, dwelling upon those traits which give likeness and character, and emphasising them with a rare dignity of pose and severity of technique. Appiani was born at Bosisio, the home of Giuseppe Parini, in 1754, and was sent to study at Milan, where he at once attracted attention by some portraits. It was in 1790 that he obtained his first great successes with his pictures of *S. Elizabeth* and of *Hercules at the Cross-roads*; later he was entrusted with the frescoes on the spandrils beneath the cupola of S. Maria presso S. Celso. A man of a practical and clear-sighted bent, he succeeded in making a career for himself not only in the arts, but in public life, so that we find him successively member of the Legislative Chamber of the Cisalpine Republic (1797), elector in the *Collegio dei Dotti* (1802), member of the Institute of Science, Literature, and Art, and keeper of the Brera Gallery after having cleverly ousted Bossi from this post. His most famous work is the decoration of the Royal Palace, which he left unfinished, for in 1813 he had an apoplectic stroke which put an end to his activity, although he lingered on for another four years. After the death of Appiani the classical painters produced little, so that the victory of the Romanticists in this case was an easy one; the victory was brought about by a small group of painters, among whom Francesco Hayez, who came from Venice, was the most prominent (See p. 95).

FIG. 314.—CONDEMNATION OF THE HUGUENOTS. (A. FOCOSI.)
Museum of the Castle, Milan.
(*Photo. Montabone.*)

The influence of the art of the day was all-powerful. It transformed the style of painters educated in a different school, and

FIG. 315.—SORDELLO.
(F. FARUFFINI.)
Museum of the Castle, Milan.
(*Photo. Brogi.*)

it was still to be recognised even in those artists who sought after and attained to new effects, urged on, on the one side, by the example of France, on the other by that of Naples, where at that time Antonio Palizzi and Domenico Morelli were at work, if not with new ideas, at least with a new fervour. Painting in Milan, as in the rest of Italy, continued for the whole course of the nineteenth century more or less under the influence of Romanticism; romantic in spirit it indeed always remained, under the influence of literature and of the drama, no less than under that of Hayez.

However, at the time some excellent artists were at work, such as that eccentric painter Giovanni Carnevali, known as Piccio (1804–1876), Alessandro Focosi (1836–1869, Fig. 314), Domenico and Girolamo Induno—the former (1815–1878) excelling in *genre* paintings (Fig. 313), the latter successful in military subjects—Federico Faruffini (1831–1869, Fig. 315), and many others. Nor must we be led astray by the technique of Tranquillo Cremona (1837–1878); in spirit he remained to the end a Romanticist (Fig. 316). How far, on the other hand, Mosè Bianchi (1840-1904), a painter of much elegance, and Giovanni Segantini (1858–1899), succeeded in freeing themselves from the Romantic tradition still remains a question. The latter was a spirited investigator of the problems presented by Alpine landscape and a successful handler of light (Fig. 317).

FIG. 316.—THE IVY.
(T. CREMONA.)
Property of the Commune of Turin.

It will be the task of succeeding generations to estimate the strength of the dominion of Romanticism upon the art of Italy in the nineteenth century; they will be able to determine its limits and to define the characters that distinguish its ideals from those of preceding and succeeding eras. We, for our part, must not let

ourselves be deceived by every cry of fresh conquests or of reform. Lorenzo Bartolini was convinced that he had routed the Academicians amid the clamour of those who, along with him, in perfect faith, believed themselves to be revolutionaries. At the present day Bartolini, too, takes his place in his niche as an Academician.

Meantime the historians of the future will do justice to the Romantic School of art, a school that was developed in harmony with a splendid school of literature and with a splendid music, above all, with a great civic and patriotic movement that gave back to Italians their Fatherland.

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FIG. 317.—AT THE SPRING. (G. SEGANTINI.)

FIG. 318.—FRAGMENT OF THE ALTAR-FRIEZE. CERTOSA, PAVIA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER XV

ART IN LOMBARDY

LODI, CREMONA AND PAVIA

Lombard Character of Art in this District.—The Comacini.—The Piazza Family.—Painters at Cremona.—The Bembo Family: Boccaccino, The Campi, Sofonisba Anguissola.—The Cathedral of Cremona.—Pavia: The Certosa.—The Mantegazza at Pavia.—Amadeo.—Sculpture in the Certosa.

BRESCIA and Bergamo, in art as in politics, followed on the whole in the wake of Venice, although from their geographical position one might rather have expected them to turn to Milan, who, however, extended her influence in the direction of Piedmont and of Liguria. On the other hand, a distinctly Lombard character may be found in another not less important group of cities and small towns scattered over the more southerly and western parts of the vast plain comprised between the Alps, the Ticino, the Po and the Mincio. It is only near Varese, at Castiglione d'Olona, that we come upon an oasis, as it were, of Tuscan art. There as we have seen, the style of Brunelleschi appears in the "Chiesa di Villa" (Fig. 227); and there, rather than at Florence or at Rome, we may study the work of Masolino da Panicale who decorated the Collegiate Church and the adjacent baptistery. (See above p. 137.)

But it would be impossible to notice one by one the cities, great and small, the villages, the castles, all of them notable from an artistic point of view, that arise along the lower Alpine slopes or are scattered over the fertile plain. On every side, it may be said, rise

monuments worthy of note. From Monza, on the one hand, proud of its cathedral (Fig. 319) built by Matteo da Campione and not less of its Longobard treasure, to Crema, on the other, a town which, in S. Maria della Croce, boasts one of the most elegant buildings erected in the style of Bramante (see above p. 140 and Fig. 235); from Como whose cathedral, from 1396 onwards, two centuries have endowed with beauties, varied indeed but harmonious in style, (see above p. 140 and Fig. 236) to Saronno, famous for its "Santuario," built by Pietro dell' Orto in 1498, and adorned with frescoes by Luini and by Gaudenzio Ferrari (Fig. 320); from Varese, which owns in its Madonna del Monte one of the most solemn and harmonious blendings of the works of man and those of nature, to Pallanza, whose proximity is announced by the graceful cupola of the fifteenth century Madonna di Campagna, rising boldly amid the green foliage; from Forno, which prides itself upon its noble S. Giovanni with its sumptuous porch sculptured by the Rodari, to Lodi with its Church of the Incoronata, that masterpiece of Battagio and Giovanni Dolcebono of which we have already spoken (p. 140 and Fig. 234). And in every town were born artists who attained to positions of note, although they may not have been brought together in contemporary groups and in schools with common aims.

FIG. 319.—CATHEDRAL, MONZA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 320.—CHURCH OF SARONNO.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

To Lodi belongs the well-known family of Piazza, which pro-

duced so many painters; of these, however, only the following are now remembered:—Albertino (d. 1529, Fig. 321); his brother, Martino (Fig. 323), who at the beginning painted under the influence of Bergognone, then passed to the manner of Leonardo (the connecting link was perhaps Cesare da Sesto), and finally to that of Raphael; and Calisto, who was working up to about 1562, and whose style shows the influence of Romanino and of Pordenone. It would be impossible to exaggerate our ignorance, up to the present time, of the work of the older members of the Piazza family, and the extent to which their work has been confused with that of other artists.

But of all the cities of Lombardy, Cremona was the one which produced the largest and most compact group of painters. The Bembo family, originally from Brescia, the Boccaccino and the Campi would suffice to give it fame. But in addition to these the following competent artists must not be forgotten: Cristoforo Moretti, Filippo and Francesco Tacconi, painters who flourished shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century, the first wavering between the schools of Lombardy and Verona, the other two inclining to the school of Venice, more especially to Giovanni Bellini; Tommaso Aleni, known as Fadino, and Francesco Casella, both of whom lived to about 1525, in the surrounding country for the most part, dominated by the art of Boccaccino, and drawing sweetness from the vision of the picture (still in S. Agostino) which Perugino had painted for Cremona in 1494; Altobello Ferrari, known as Melone (Fig. 322), a good draughtsman whose strident colour exaggerated the ardent hues of Romanino; Bernardino Gatti, known as Il Soiaro (1495?–1575), a gay and pleasing if not profound decorator, who following in the steps of Pordenone and Correggio (Fig. 324), in the numerous works that he carried out at Piacenza and at Parma, threw himself into the new movement; Sofonisba Anguissola (1535–1632), his pupil, second-rate as a painter of sacred subjects, but an artist of much

FIG. 321.—MARRIAGE OF S. CATHERINE. (A. PIAZZA.)
Accad. Carrara, Bergamo.
(*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

elegance and refinement in her portraits (Fig. 325); in such work, indeed, she was so successful that she was summoned to the Court of Spain, where she attained to a high position both as artist and woman. Sofonisba became the wife of Don Fabrizio di Moncada, with whom she lived in Sicily; after his death, returning to her birthplace, she accepted the offer of a second marriage from the captain of the galley that was bearing her home; in her old age she reckoned Van Dyke among her most respectful admirers. Finally, mention must be made of Gian Battista Trotti, known as Malosso (1555–1619, Fig. 326), a rapid and successful draughtsman, but a somewhat crude colourist. Trotti was brought up in the school of the Campi, but was early converted to that of Parma, a town where he lived for a long time as painter to the Duke, and where he competed with Annibale Carracci.

FIG. 322.—VIRGIN IN GLORY WITH ANGELS. (A. MELONE.) S. Abbondio, Cremona. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 323.—MADONNA. (M. PIAZZA.) Accad. Carrara, Bergamo. (*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

All the artists, Cremonese by birth or by adoption, who have been mentioned so far, spent some time under the tutelage of the Bembo, the Boccaccino, or the Campi families.

Of the painters of the Bembo family, the oldest, Bonifacio, was the most celebrated. The documentary evidence concerning this artist ranges from 1447 to 1478 and records paintings by him in Cremona, in Milan, and especially in the castle of Pavia, where together with Foppa, Bugatto, and others, he worked for long upon a series of large pictures representing contemporary life (feasts, games, hunting scenes, etc.). Gian Francesco (Fig. 327) and Pietro Bembo, who lived at a later date, made their way into the

FIG. 324.—ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS. (SOIARO.)
S. Pietro, Cremona.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

artistic circle of Boccaccio Boccaccino and of the Campi, with whom they worked in the cathedral of Cremona.

Boccaccio Boccaccino (1467?–1525?) passed his youth in Ferrara, where his father, Antonio, was an embroiderer. In 1496 he was in Venice, in 1497 in Genoa and in Milan, where he suffered imprisonment; in 1499 he was again in Ferrara, where he killed his wife, who was guilty of adultery, and where he left some traces of his influence, as for example, in Mazzolino's *Adoration of the Shepherds,* now in the public gallery of that city. After other wanderings he fixed his habitual residence in Cremona. His manner shows him to have been in the beginning a follower of Cima da Conegliano and Alvise Vivarini, and at a later date of Bramantino. In composition and in the arrangement of drapery his style was large and simple, and his execution accurate. Boccaccino, moreover, showed great distinction and sweetness in his colour and types, and his work is more especially to be recognised by the expression of gentle amazement in the luminous eyes of his personages (Fig. 328).

FIG. 325.—PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST. (S. ANGUISSOLA.)
Museum, Naples.

Two artists worked side by side with Boccaccino: one, his son Camillo (1501–1546), the other an anonymous painter, known at present by the nickname of the Pseudo-Boccaccino; he has been identified by some, on rather inconclusive evidence, with the Nicolà d'Appiano mentioned on p. 179.

Galeazzo Campi, again (1477-1536), was a pupil of Boccaccio Boccaccino. But neither the excellence of his master nor familiarity with Perugino's picture sufficed to mitigate the rudeness of his style, manifested both in his drawing and in his ruddy colouring. Of his three sons the oldest,

Giulio (1502–1572, Fig. 329) was the best painter; he has a certain admirable grandeur and vigour of style, although he was at the mercy of every new impression. Beginning as a disciple of Romanino, we find him following in succession Parmigianino, Lorenzo Lotto, Titian, Dosso Dossi, and in the end even a painter so opposed in artistic ideals to the others as Giulio Romano. His pictures are very numerous, and in many of his works—not the last ones—the strength of the Venetian colouring, the energetic expression of individuality, and the grandeur of the whole, are truly praiseworthy.

FIG. 326.—THE ENTOMBMENT. (MALOSSO.) Brera, Milan. (*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

His brother Antonio, who flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century, was of less note as a painter, but was a more universal genius. He was, indeed, distinguished as an architect, as a sculptor, as a geographer, and as a historian. As a painter he followed his father, he followed Giulio, he followed Correggio, he followed Dosso; of the last he was little better than a copyist. The third brother, Vincenzo (d. 1591), was always more modest and restrained; he refrained from ambitious subjects of sacred or profane history, and devoted himself to portraits and to pictures of fruit and flowers, and in these he showed that he had studied the works of Floris van Dyck, and of Pieter Aertszen, known as Lange Pier.

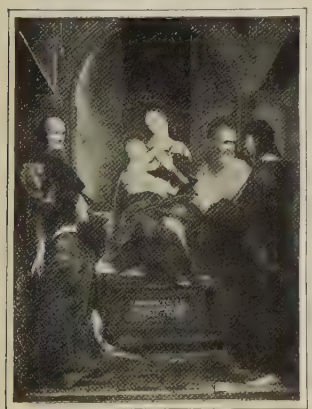

FIG. 327.—VIRGIN WITH SS. COSMO AND DAMIAN. (G. F. BEMBO.) Church of S. Pietro, Cremona. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Bernardino Campi (1522–1590) was the son of the goldsmith Pietro; he studied under Giulio and thence passed to the studio of Ippolito Costa in Mantua, where he saw and imitated the works of Giulio

Romano. He certainly gave proof of good taste when he shook himself free from this influence, and turned both eye and mind to the study of the works of Correggio; but if he succeeded in borrowing some formal elements from this master, he entirely failed to penetrate his spirit. A man of prodigious activity, he worked at an endless number of places in Lombardy and in Emilia.

FIG. 328.—HOLY CONVERSATION. (BOCCACCIO BOCCACCINO.) Accademia, Venice. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

At this period, too, Cremona gave birth to Giuseppe Dattaro, known as Pizzafuoco (1540–1619), an architect of great merit (Fig. 330), and at later dates to Panfilo and to his son Carlo Francesco, of whom we have spoken on p. 181; to Giovanni Angelo Borroni (1684–1772), to his son Vincenzo, and to Francesco Boccaccino (d. 1750).

The exhibition of sacred art held at Cremona in 1899 resulted in making the artists of that city better known to us. These men had been less studied of late than in the past, when Zaist (1774), Grasselli (1827), and Sacchi (1872), were actively occupied in their researches. The exhibition led to fresh discussion and fresh investigation; but before long all was again abandoned, for Cremona is generally neglected both by the studious and by the public, lying apart as it does on the banks of the Po, remote from the main lines of communication. And yet what city can boast of a more beautiful cathedral (Fig. 331), a building in which the vigour of the Romanesque is tempered by the graces of the Renaissance?

FIG. 329.—JESUS AMONG THE DOCTORS OF THE LAW. (G. CAMPI.) S. Margherita, Cremona. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

However, after Milan, the most important city from the artistic

point of view is, of course, Pavia. Like Oxford in relation to London, and Padua in relation to Venice, the Lombard city flourished as an asylum of peace for those devoted to study. The fervour of political and commercial life, the animation of the populace, and the tyranny of luxury, made it desirable in Milan, as in London and Venice, to fix the seat of learning away from the tumultuous and self-indulgent centre.

Already, under the name of Ticinum, a place of some importance in ancient times, the city in 572 became the capital of the Longobard Kingdom, and it was during their rule that it was first known as Pavia. It was in the famous church of S. Michele Maggiore (Fig. 332), rebuilt in the eleventh century, that the crown was placed on the heads of Berengarius I., Marquis of Friuli, of Berengarius II., of Arduino of Ivrea, of Frederick Barbarossa, and of other German Kings, to whom Pavia remained faithful up to 1360; in that year the Emperor Charles IV. ceded it to Galeazzo II., Visconti. Galeazzo set about at once to erect the Castle (Fig.333), a building notable at the present day (although robbed of many a work of art) for its vast size, and for the beautiful court that shows Venetian influence; at the back he enclosed an immense park of some eleven miles in circuit, destined for the rearing and the pursuit of every kind of game. In one part of it Gian Galeazzo Visconti began the erection of the Certosa (Figs. 334–340), in fulfilment of a vow made by his wife Caterina, and in satisfaction of his own desire "to have a palace wherein to dwell, a garden wherein to disport himself, and a chapel wherein to worship."

FIG. 330.—GRAND STAIRCASE IN THE PALAZZO DATI, CREMONA. (DATTARO.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The artist to whom was assigned the principal share in designing the Certosa, and, at the beginning, in superintending the works, was Bernardo da Venezia, an engineer and woodcarver. The work, as a whole, proceeded slowly enough. To a few short periods, when it was actively prosecuted, there succeeded only too many others of neglect—nay, indeed, long intervals of complete

FIG. 331.—CATHEDRAL AND TOWER, CREMONA.

abandonment—and this led to changes, not only in details and in the decorative parts, but also in the constructive organism.

With Francesco Sforza the work received a new and vigorous impulse, more especially in the building of the church, for the monks themselves had before this urged forward the completion of their cells.

In 1453 Guiniforte Solari (d.1481) was appointed architect to the Certosa, and it was under his direction and after his design that the façade of the church was begun (Figs. 334, 335 and 337), that the nave was finished, and that the two cloisters (Figs. 336 and 338), with their magnificent decoration of terra-cotta, by Rinaldo de Stauris of Cremona (1464), were completed.

The participation of Cristoforo Mantegazza in the works of the Certosa preceded that of Amadeo, though only by a brief space of time. In 1463 he furnished square slabs of stone for the walls of the aisles; the year after we find him at work with De Stauris in the lesser cloister (Fig. 336); later, together with his brother Antonio, he carved the fountain in the Maddalena chapel; finally, in 1473, still with his brother's assistance, he undertook the great task of erecting the façade of the church (Figs. 334, 335 and 337).

FIG. 332.—CHURCH OF S. MICHELE, PAVIA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The two Mantegazza had begun their artistic life as goldsmiths. That such more or less they remained to the end we may see in the minuteness of their work and in their tendency to accumulate an infinity of small details, instead of seeking the repose of large lines

and simple forms. Their lean and often contorted figures are wrapped in garments broken up into a thousand planes, into a thousand angular folds; the general effect recalls a process of crystallisation and reveals a foreign influence. Their scheme of decoration is developed in a succession of branches, of flowers, of fruits, of *puttini*, of medallions, of shields or coats of arms, of fantastic animals, of reliefs full of figures emerging from a background of landscape or of buildings; in short, of a thousand gay and sumptuous details, which awaken a feeling of wonder rather than one of spontaneous delight, and in any case destroy the simplicity of Solari's architectural conception.

FIG. 333.—CASTLE OF THE VISCONTI, PAVIA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Giovanni Antonio Amadeo, a native of Pavia (1447–1522), worked at the Certosa as early as 1466, when he was no more than nineteen years old. It is here, indeed, that he has left us the most notable examples of his art as architect and sculptor, though his work may also be admired in the Colleoni chapel and tomb at Bergamo (Fig. 209); at Milan, in various parts of the Cathedral (the central tower, for example) and in the Ospedale Maggiore, where in 1495 he was director of the works; in the Incoronata Church at Lodi, where the open gallery round the cupola is probably due to him (Fig. 234); in the Borromeo tombs at Isola Bella (Fig. 341); in the shrine of San Lanfranco, and in the Cathedral of Pavia; in the pulpits of the Cathedral of Cremona, and in various other places. As an architect, in Lombardy, he preceded Bramante in the practical application of the

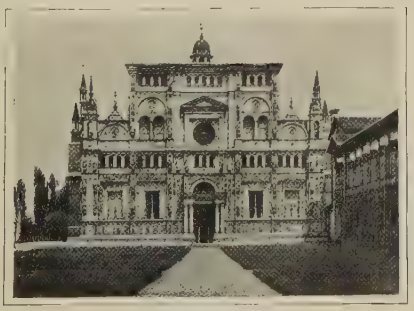

FIG. 334.—FAÇADE OF THE CERTOSA, PAVIA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 335.—DOOR OF THE CERTOSA, PAVIA.

canons of the Renaissance; as a sculptor he is a descendant of the Campionesi, and in his early works there are lingering traces of the Gothic tradition; later, contemplating the style of the Mantegazza and that of Antonio Riccio (see p. 26 and Fig. 40), who in 1465 was at work upon the columns and the capitals of the larger cloister, he underwent a change; nor did he fail to approve the simplicity of Tuscan architecture, the examples of which style at Castiglione d'Olona, and in the chapel of St. Peter Martyr in S. Eustorgio, found favour with the sterner and calmer spirits of the day. Amadeo, however, observed but did not imitate. He detached himself from the past, but did not fall into a fresh servitude. Thus it was that, observing, pondering and working, he found his true self, and developed a personality which, if not remarkable for measure and caution, was, of a certainty, full of vigour and in complete harmony with the Lombard environment. To his merits as an artist he added those of a man: simple, honest and patient, he found his only delight in indefatigable toil, and his love for his art raised him so high above the petty jealousies and spites of his fellows that he brought himself to pardon the slayers of his only son, and to leave a large proportion of his considerable fortune to the daughters of the artists working for the conservators of the cathedral, many of whom had saddened his life by their jealousy and their malicious criticism.

FIG. 336.—CHURCH AND SMALL CLOISTER OF THE CERTOSA, PAVIA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

At the Certosa of Pavia Amadeo had already carried out several pieces of work (the rich door, for example, that leads from the small

cloister to the transept of the church, Fig. 339), and had now found occupation in the sculpture of the shrine of San Lanfranco and in the Colleoni Chapel at Bergamo, when he learnt that the sculpture of the façade had been allotted to the Mantegazza; he at once took steps to obtain for himself part of this work, and in this he was successful through the intervention of Galeazzo Maria Sforza. The Mantegazza and Amadeo were in time succeeded by Benedetto Briosco and by the latter's son and pupils.

FIG. 337.—FRAGMENT OF THE FAÇADE, CERTOSA, PAVIA.

Works such as these and many others, notwithstanding dilapidations and losses of every kind, make this building still one of the most remarkable in Italy and in the world. In the Certosa, during a succession of ages, as also in the cathedral at Milan, a whole army of artists obtained their training, and many of these men were employed in both buildings. There we may see, surmounting the mausoleum of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the shrine sculptured by Cristoforo Romano between the years 1492 and 1497 (Fig. 342), and the Madonna and Child of Benedetto Briosco. There, too, lying on their tombs, are the statues of Lodovico il Moro and of Beatrice d'Este, formerly in the church of the Grazie at Milan, the work of Cristoforo Solari, known as Il Gobbo (Fig. 340). In addition to this the Certosa contains pictures by Bernardino de Rossi of Pavia, by Bergognone, by Perugino, by Jacopo de Motis, by Andrea Solario, by Bartolomeo Montagna, by Luini, and, coming gradually to a later time, by the Genoese painter

FIG. 338.—GREAT CLOISTER, CERTOSA, PAVIA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

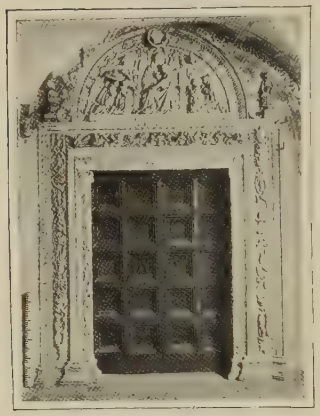

FIG. 330. DOOR OF THE SMALL CLOISTER, CERTOSA, PAVIA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Ottavio Semini, by the Procaccini, by Cerano, by Daniele Crespi, Morazzone, Francesco del Cairo, and Guercino, as well as examples of sculpture by Annibale Fontana (the obelisk, for example, and the bronze candelabrum), by Annibale Busca, by Dionigi Bussola, Carlo Simonetta, Giuseppe Rusnati, and many others.

But the most important sculptures in the Certosa are those executed between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the sixteenth century. No other art—unless it be the Umbro-Tuscan painting of the Renaissance in the Sistine Chapel—has left a monument more supreme and more complete. In this building the Lombard sculpture of the time is displayed in its entirety, with all its merits and all its faults. And so it happens that the visitor, dazzled by the splendour of the Certosa, overlooks the fact that a few miles off on one side rises the superb Cistercian church of Chiaravalle (Fig. 344), founded by St. Bernard, and on the other, closer at hand, the city of Pavia, splendid with such monuments as the already mentioned castle, and the church of San Michele; as the cathedral, begun in 1487 by Cristoforo Rocchi and completed with the aid of Amadeo and of Bramante (Fig. 343); as S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, as S. Teodoro with Bramantino's frescoes, S. Francesco, and S. Maria di Canepanova.

FIG. 340.—MONUMENT TO LODOVICO SFORZA AND BEATRICE D'ESTE, CERTOSA, PAVIA. (C. SOLARI.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 341.—MONUMENT TO GIOVANNI BORROMEO. (AMADEO.)
Isola Bella.

FIG. 342.—TOMB OF GIAN GALEAZZO.
Certosa, Pavia.

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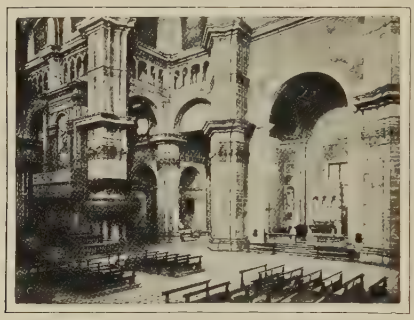

FIG. 343.—INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL, PAVIA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 344.—ABBEY CHURCH, CHIARAVALLE.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 345.—CASTLE OF MONTALTO DORA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER XVI

ART IN PIEDMONT UP TO THE END OF THE RENAISSANCE

Roman Remains in Piedmont.—Architectural Activity in the Eleventh Century—Cathedrals of Casale, Ivrea, Susa and Acqui.—Abbeys.—Civil Architecture.—Painters in Piedmont in the Fifteenth Century.—Macrino di Alba.—Sodoma.—Gaudenzio Ferrari.

IN the history of art, Piedmont and Liguria do not certainly figure as prominently as the other regions of Upper and Central Italy. But while acknowledging this, we must not suppose that art is not represented in these provinces. We may more justly regret that the subject has not been studied there as it deserves, for it is this neglect more than anything else which has caused Liguria and Piedmont to be ignored as artistic centres.

We shall see later on that Genoa had its period of pictorial activity. For the present let us confine ourselves to Piedmont, dividing it for the purpose of our rapid survey into three large fields: Turin and southwest Piedmont, the Monferrato district, and finally the region that extends from Vercelli to Novara.

Meanwhile, let us begin by noting that the Piedmontese provinces are excessively rich in Roman remains, some of them indeed of real grandeur: for example, the ruins of the aqueduct of the *Aquæ Statiellæ* (Acqui), the bridge over the Lys at Pont Saint Martin and the remnants of the ancient cities of Augusta Bagiennorum (Bene Vagienna), Libarna (near Serravalle Scrivia), Pollentium (Pollenzo), Dertona (Tortona), and Industria (Monteu da Po). In the province of Turin, which is especially rich in

ancient buildings, the four principal nuclei of Roman remains are to be found at Aosta (the walls with towers and gates, the amphitheatre, the theatre—Fig. 346—the beautiful arch of Augustus—Fig. 347—with the ten Corinthian semi-columns, the granary, the bridge over the former bed of the Buthier, etc.); at Ivrea (the walls in the Perrone garden and the theatre); at Susa (the aqueduct, commonly known as the Baths of Gratian, the Arch of Augustus, the walls and the gate); and finally at Turin, which preserves the magnificent Porta Palatina (Fig. 349), the Porta Decumana incorporated with the Palazzo Madama, the ruins of the theatre and of the walls, to say nothing of the fact that the regular planning of the streets, which gives the city a more modern look than any other in Italy, is in part at least a survival of the original Roman alignment.

FIG. 346.—RUINS OF THE ROMAN THEATRE, AOSTA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Following upon such abundant wealth of Roman buildings, the poverty, we may say even the total absence, of remains dating from the Byzantine period and from the Romanesque up to the year 1000, appears all the more singular. It is evident that during the course of about six centuries there was not much constructive fervour to be found in this region; and the few buildings that were erected during this period, when not ruined or totally destroyed, have been subjected to radical alterations, as in the case of the church of Sant' Orso at Aosta, which was indeed rebuilt in the fifth century and restored in the twelfth.

FIG. 347.—ARCH OF AUGUSTUS, AOSTA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

About the year 1000 a total change comes about. The desire or the necessity for the erection of walls, of gates, of towers, fortresses, castles, and churches, and for the rebuilding of towns and villages which hitherto had been of wood, spread at length over Piedmont, and it was in the last years of the tenth century that the oldest towers and castles appeared; during the course of at least four centuries these grew in size and in number, above all, in the upper districts of Monferrato, in the Canavese district (Ivrea, Pavone, Montalto Dora, Fig. 345), in the valley of Aosta (Sarriod-la-tour, Graines, Fénis, Verrès—Fig. 350—Issogne), and in the district of Cuneo (Verzuolo). And in addition to the small *ricetti* (fortified market towns, notable examples of which still exist at Candelo, Oglianico, Ozegna, and Salassa), and to the fortified houses of Almese, of Chianoc, and of San Giorio, we have the girdle of walls at Ciriè and at Avigliana.

FIG. 348.—SAGRA DI S. MICHELE. NEAR TURIN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 349.—PORTA PALATINA, TURIN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The restoration and the vast increase in number of sacred buildings also had their origin in the year 1000. Confining ourselves to the more notable buildings, we may instance the Sagra di S. Michele (to the west of Turin, Fig. 348), rising boldly from the summit of a rock, the cathedral of Casale, and that of Ivrea, with its cloister, buildings begun in the tenth and completed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the cathedral of Susa (Fig. 351), with its pediment and its campanile adorned at a later date with graceful pinnacles; following on these we have the

FIG. 350.—STAIRS OF THE CASTLE, VERRES. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

cathedral of Acqui, with its double aisles, the superb abbey of Vezzolano (Fig. 352), so rich in sculpture, its façade decorated with a series of blind recesses, in the Tuscan style, and its cloister, remarkable for the curious asymmetrical arrangement of its sides; the abbey of S. Antonio di Ranverso at Buttigliera Alta, its profile pleasantly enriched by a series of pinnacles and its triple doorway oppressed by the enormous pediments (Fig. 353); the abbey of S. Fede at Cavagnolo Po with its three aisles, its composite piers (Fig. 354) and its highly decorated doorway, all typically Romanesque in style.

To the thirteenth century belong the celebrated abbey of Staffarda at Revello, near Saluzzo, so complete and so imposing in effect, S. Secondo di Cortazzone, and other churches. In these buildings the pointed style begins to assert itself, a style of which there are many beautiful examples in Piedmont, such as the church of Sant' Andrea at Vercelli (agreeing in conception with the architectural style that had its origin in the Ile de France), which, with the adjacent hospital forms one of the most charming monumental groups in Piedmont (Fig. 355); S. Maria della Scala at Moncalieri; the cathedral of Alba and that at Chieri, where the tympanum of the doorway invades the whole façade (Fig. 357).

FIG. 351.—APSE OF THE CATHEDRAL, SUSA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Nor is the civil architecture less interesting. At Asti, Saluzzo, Bussoleno, Carignano and Alba, we find groups of buildings, in the transition style between Gothic and Renaissance, at times gay with terracotta decoration, as for

examples the façade of the cathedral of Chivasso (Fig. 356).

Amid such a variety of buildings, to define the various influences under which the architecture of these lands was developed, to point out the indigenous characters, and to separate them from those which were imported, in a word to classify them, all this is often a matter of no little difficulty. One point is noteworthy —French influences are in many cases very apparent.

FIG. 352.—ABBEY, VEZZOLANO. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The intimate connection of architecture and sculpture has resulted in the preservation of numerous examples of the latter art from the tenth century onwards, and of this we have a splendid example in the mortuary chapel of the church of S. Giovanni at Saluzzo; but very little painting is to be discovered up to the end of the fourteenth century. Examples may indeed be found in the mosaics of SS. Vittore e Corona at Grazzano (twelfth century); in a few frescoes in the Annunciata at Tortona and in S. Andrea at Vercelli (thirteenth century); others in a chapel of S. Eldrado in the Novalesa district (north of Susa), in the churches of the old cemeteries of Avigliana and of Buttigliera d'Asti, and in the fourteenth century oratory of S. Martino, near Ciriè (in the direction of Mathi), and in a few pictures. It is, however, noteworthy that between 1314 and 1348 a certain Florentine, Giorgio dell'Aquila, was working for Amadeus V. of Savoy; he also painted at Chambéry and at Pinerolo, and is the reputed author of certain frescoes recently discovered at Chillon on the Lake of Geneva.

FIG. 353.—ABBEY OF S. ANTONIO DI RANVERSO. Buttigliera Alta. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The scarcity of paintings dating from the Romanesque period or from the fourteenth century is in a degree compensated for by the comparative abundance of those of the fifteenth century; but for want of precise indications, it is a hopeless task to assign these works to one rather than to another of the many artists mentioned in contemporary documents. However, there are paintings of no small importance, dealing with subjects of state and of chivalry, in the castles of Fénis, of Issogne, and above all in that of Manta, where, in an extensive cycle of figure subjects, the influence of the French illuminators may be discovered, another element of that art of which we spoke when treating of Giovannino de Grassi.

FIG. 354.—ABBEY OF S. FEDE, CAVOGNOLO PO. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

It would, for example, be interesting to identify some work by that Gregorio Bono of Venice, who held the office of *pictor domesticus* to Amadeus VIII., Count of Savoy, from 1413 to at least 1440.

The history of painting in Piedmont cannot however be clearly traced before the middle of the fifteenth century, and even then it presents itself as a disconnected record of painters influenced now by Tuscan, now by Lombard or Flemish, above all, by French masters; it is a record in which it is impossible to distinguish anything in the nature of a definite school, unless it be that of Vercelli for a brief interval, and as regards certain characteristics.

FIG. 355.—CHURCH OF S. ANDREA, VERCELLI. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Among the painters born outside the limits of Monferrato and of the Valsesia, mention must be made of Giovanni Canavesio of

Pinerolo, who was at work in Liguria and around Nice about the middle of the fifteenth century; of that rich and hospitable painter, Amadeo Albini of Moncalieri, of whom we have records between 1460 and 1519; of Giorgio Tuncoto, a fresco by whom, with the date 1473, is preserved in his native place, Cavellermaggiore; of Giovanni Perosino (Fig. 358), who was working at Alba and at Mondovì between 1517 and 1523; and of his contemporary, Jacobino Longo. But Oddone Pascale of Savigliano, and, more especially, Defendente de Ferrari (at work 1518–1535), rose to a higher level than any of these. The latter artist was a pupil of Gian Martino Spanzotti, and he did not escape the influence of Macrino d'Alba; he produced a large number of works (more than eighty are known to us), which show great suavity of sentiment, beauty in the forms, refinement in the technique, and decorative richness.

FIG. 356.—FAÇADE OF THE CATHEDRAL, CHIVASSO. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

A group of painters still more remarkable sprang up in Monferrato and the surrounding country. From Asti, again, came Gandolfino di Roreto, who flourished between 1493 and 1510. Some of his works are to be found in his native town, in Turin, at Vercelli and at Savigliano.

FIG. 357.—CATHEDRAL, CHIERI. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

On the other hand we do not know the birthplace of Giovanni "da Piemonte." We find his signature and the date 1456 on a picture at Città di Castello (Fig. 362); it is somewhat incorrect in the drawing, and is remarkable for the singular treatment of the staring

FIG. 358.—S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. (PEROSINO.)
Gallery, Turin.

eyes, and for the unmistakable evidence of the influence of Pier della Francesca.

A certain Pietro Spanzotti, a native of Varese, established himself at Casale in 1470. He had two sons: Francesco, who died about 1530, and Gian Martino, who had already taken to painting in 1481, and who died after 1524. Francesco gave his daughter in marriage to Pietro Granmorseo (at work 1526–1533, Fig. 364), a timid and incorrect, but graceful painter. Gian Martino (Fig. 363) was the master of Defendente de Ferrari, of Girolamo Giovenone, and, at Vercelli, of Sodoma. To him, in addition to a few pictures, is now assigned a vast series of frescoes in the ex-convent of S. Bernardino, near Ivrea; certain defects in the drawing and in the execution of these frescoes are fully atoned for by the exceptional beauty of the composition and of the sentiment. In this they are far superior to the work of Ottaviano Cane, who was born at Trino about 1498, and who died at a great age some time after 1570; he proclaimed himself an *imitator naturae*, but this did not prevent him from being held in the bonds of tradition (Fig. 360). But the most famous artist of the Monferrato district is Macrino de Alladio, known as Macrino di Alba (1470?–1528), a man who finds his place rather in the Umbro-Tuscan school which was active in Rome towards the end of the fifteenth century, than in that of his native land (Fig. 365). The close examination of his paintings, more especially of the early ones (later on he did not escape a certain Lombard influence), reveals abundant formal affinities with the works of Pintoricchio, of Perugino, of Signorelli and even of Ghirlandaio, so that we have ground for believing that he received his artistic

FIG. 359.—ANNUNCIATION. (G. MAZONE.)
S. Maria di Castello, Genoa.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

education in Rome, where all these masters have left important examples of their splendid talents, especially in the Vatican.

* * *

FIG. 360.—FRAGMENT OF THE MADONNA DI FONTANETO. (OTTAVIANO CANE.) Gallery, Turin. (*Photo. Studio di riproduzioni artistiche.*)

The Veronese painter Giovanni Francesco Caroto (see pp. 105 and 115) was at work in the Monferrato district for about five years (1514–1518), having been summoned thither by the Marquis Guglielmo, but we cannot discover that his art exercised any influence upon that of the native painters. Among the architects we must note Matteo Sanmicheli of Porlezza (1480?–1530), Bartolomeo Baronino of Casale (1510–1554), and Ambrogio Volpi, known as Volpino.

And now we come to Novara, to Vercelli, and to the adjacent districts, a land that produced numberless painters, among them two men of real distinction: it was here that Gaudenzio Ferrari and Sodoma were born and received their first training, although they ultimately took their places as members of the Lombard school

We may indeed trace back the artistic life of Vercelli to a very early period. The earliest records of her painters, as of her principal churches, date from the thirteenth century. It is known that a certain Bishop Ugone, who died in 1235, caused the atrium of the cathedral to be decorated, and that half a century later a painter called Aimerio had flourished there; he was the

FIG. 361.—TRIPTYCH. (DEFENDENTE DE FERRARA.) Gallery, Turin. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 362.—VIRGIN AND SAINTS.
(GIOV. PIEMONTESE.)
Gallery, Città di Castello.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

first of a long roll of artists especially numerous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of the painters belonging to the families of Oldoni, of Giovenone and of Lanino, we shall only mention the most prominent.

Boniforte I. Oldoni was born at Milan about 1412; we find him established at Vercelli in 1462, and he was already dead by April, 1478. He had seven sons, six of whom at least practised the art of their father. A single picture by Eleazaro (d. 1516) is preserved at Turin; by Josuè (1465?–1518?) we have a fresco at Verrone. Finally, at Vercelli, we can point to a picture by Boniforte III. (1520–1586?).

Girolamo Giovenone (1490–1555, Fig. 366), a restrained and refined painter, acquired greater breadth of manner on passing from the art of Spanzotti to that of Gaudenzio, and he painted some good portraits. Giuseppe Giovenone, *the elder* (1495?–1553?), is the author of a picture at Ciriè, and Giuseppe, *the younger* (1524–1606?), of two pictures in the gallery at Turin, which show him to have been a follower of Gaudenzio. The same may be said of Bernardino Lanino (1512?–1583?), a prolific and graceful, but rather weak painter.

FIG. 363.—VIRGIN AND CHILD.
(G. M. SPANZOTTI.)
Gallery, Turin.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

But now we come to our two heroes —Sodoma and Gaudenzio.

Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (1477–1549), known by the name of Sodoma, was born at Vercelli; after having been the pupil of Gian Martino Spanzotti, he came into contact with the work of Leonardo, and finally, about 1501, he took up his abode at Siena. He was of a restless and bizarre temperament, but thanks to an instinctive feeling for

beauty he succeeded in rendering female grace, childish mischief, and the nude with great charm. A master in the execution of isolated figures (Fig. 369), above all of such as were young and vigorous, he showed a certain insufficiency when he attacked important compositions, to which he failed to give unity. He worked chiefly at Siena (Figs. 367, 368), in the surrounding districts (as at Montoliveto Maggiore, near Asciano) and in Rome, where in the villa of Agostino Chigi, known later as the Farnesina, he has left us masterpieces of grace, of vigour, and of technique. At Siena he had many disciples and followers, among them Girolamo del Pacchia, Baldassarre Peruzzi, the famous architect, and Domenico Beccafumi.

FIG. 364.—VIRGIN AND SAINTS. (GRANMORSEO.)
Archbishop's Palace, Vercelli.
(*Photo. Masoero.*)

Gaudenzio Ferrari, if inferior to Sodoma in the matter of formal beauty and in the mastery of fresco painting, surpasses him in vivacity of temperament, in the frankness of his brush-work, and the rich vitality of his compositions. Ferrari was born at Valduggia in the Val Sesia about 1481, and he died in Milan in 1546. We might certainly have included him in the Lombard school (of this school indeed he seems to us the greatest master), but it appears more advisable to speak of him here, since it was at Vercelli that he received his first instruction in art, and here that he presided for some time over a workshop. The influence, too, of Bramantino and of Luini is easily recognised in his works, but nevertheless, thanks to his joyous and fervid temperament, Gaudenzio attained to a well-defined

FIG. 365.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH FOUR SAINTS. (MACRINO D'ALBA.)
Gallery, Turin.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 366.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (GIOVENONE.)
Gallery, Turin. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

individuality and produced a notable number of works, in which, in spite of occasional awkwardness and weakness, he shows a command of colour and a genial sincerity at times illuminated by flashes of a remarkably modern spirit. As many as fifty pictures may be attributed to him, but he seems to me to have reached a higher level in the frescoes of the Santuario at Saronno (Fig. 370), of the Sacro Monte of Varallo, and in S. Cristoforo at Vercelli.

Gaudenzio Ferrari also worked at Novara, and at Novara, too, we find a certain Sperindio Cagnola, his pupil and assistant, who in 1514 became security for him in the matter of a contract. Cagnola sprung from a family of local painters, among whom we have record of a Francesco (working 1507) and of an older artist, Tommaso, who, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, was painting at Gozzano, his native place, in the adjacent Bolzano country, at Garbagna and in the abbey of San Nazaro alla Costa. In this last church the Cagnola were working in competition with members of the Merli family; to this latter family belonged Gian Francesco (working 1498), an artist held in much esteem by the Duke of Milan, Salomone and Gian Antonio (working 1474–1488). On the whole, however, we have to deal with painters who were indeed not deficient in sentiment and in distinction, but as a body were timid and behind their age.

At a later date an artist of more sterling value passed to Milan from Novara—this was Cerano; but of him we have already spoken.

FIG. 367.—TRANCE OF S. CATHERINE. (SODOMA.)
Church of S. Domenico, Siena.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 368.—ADAM AND EVE. (SODOMA.)
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(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 369.—S. SEBASTIAN. (SODOMA.)
Uffizi, Florence.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 370.—FRAGMENT OF THE CUPOLA OF S. MARIA DEI MIRACOLI. (G. FERRARI.) Saronno. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 371.—PALAZZO MADAMA, TURIN. (*Photo, Alinari.*)

CHAPTER XVII

ART IN PIEDMONT FROM THE REVIVAL OF THE SAVOYARD MONARCHY TO THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Emmanuel Philibert a Patron of the Arts.—Charles Emmanuel and His Collections.—Charles Emmanuel II. a Patron of Foreign Artists.—The Arts under Victor Amadeus II.—Filippo Juvara.—Francesco Gallo.—G. B. Sacchetti.—Annexation of Piedmont by the French.—French Influences.—The Albertina at Turin.—Massimo d'Azeglio.—Carlo Marochetti.—Landscape Painters of the Modern School.

PROCEEDING with our notice of the art of Piedmont, we now arrive at the time of Emmanuel Philibert, thanks to whom the country attained to a high degree of dignity and fortune. Legislator, controller, and renewer of his state, he did not confine his attention to such matters as the supreme Court of Justice, to the administration, to agriculture, and to the army; in contrast to his predecessors, who passed much of their time beyond the Alps, he established his court at Turin; to this town he transferred the university, which he took under his protection; there he built the citadel, and organised the mint, and there he died, in 1580, after a long and successful reign.

At the moment of the revival of the Savoyard monarchy, which was brought about by the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, a few painters faithful to the local style still survived, as we have seen, although this style may be considered to have been finally condemned by the defection of the greater artists, such as Sodoma

FIG. 372.—NATIVITY. (G. VERMIGLIO.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Ferrario.*)

and Gaudenzio. No wonder that this moribund art received its final quietus, when Emmanuel Philibert went beyond the confines of his state in search of the artists he employed.

He began by finding them not very far from home (1561–1573); Giacomo Vighi, known as Argenta, from the place of his birth near Bologna, was a talented painter of portraits whom he dispatched to France, to Bohemia, and to Saxony, to paint the princes of those countries and to buy pictures; Alessandro Ardente of Faenza, who died in 1595, was another native of the Romagna who found favour with him. We find, further, that Philibert and his wife, Margaret of France, favoured Venetian art, turning to Paris Bordone, to Jacopo Bassano, and Palma Giovine.

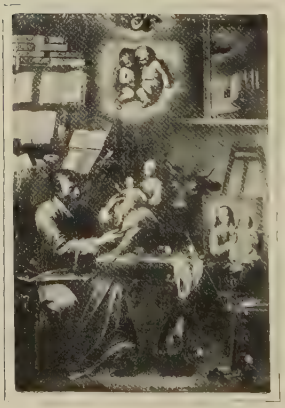

FIG. 373.—THE ARTIST AT WORK. (PORTRAIT OF HIMSELF.)
(G. CACCIA, CALLED IL MONCALVO.)
Parish Church of Moncalvo.

Charles Emmanuel takes a higher position than his predecessor as a lover of letters and of the arts, if not by virtue of intellect and warlike spirit. During his reign (1580–1630) a notable collection of objects of art, of manuscripts, and of valuable books, was brought together at Turin, and to hold these he built a huge gallery decorated by various artists, both foreign and Italian, among them Federico Zuccari, who found occupation there for more than two years, from 1605 to 1607; in this last year died the Fleming Giovanni Caracca (Jan Kraek or Carrach). He had migrated to Piedmont some forty years previously on the invitation of Duke Emmanuel Philibert, who had appointed him painter to the court.

Other artists who flourished at Turin between his time and that of Charles Emmanuel were Giuseppe Vermiglio of Alessandria (1575?-1635?, Fig. 372), and his fellow citizen, Giorgio Alberini (1576–1627?), who collaborated with Moncalvo in his paintings, and was content to remain modestly at Casale and enrich it with his works, while Cesare Arbasia (1550–1614), who came from Saluzzo, wandered all over Spain, painting in Cordova, in Malaga, and in other cities.

FIG. 374. PIAZZA AND PALAZZO DEL MUNICIPIO, TURIN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

But the most notable artist of this period was Guglielmo Caccia, known as Moncalvo (Fig. 373), who was born at Montabone near Acqui about 1570, and who died in 1625 at Moncalvo, from which town, where he passed most of his life, he took the name by which he is best known. Over-hasty and prolific, he failed to attain to the position to which his talents seemed to have destined him at the beginning. He worked in various parts of Lombardy and in half the towns of Savoy, more successful as a fresco painter than in his oil pictures, for he is sometimes weak in the technical handling of this latter medium. In order to carry out the manifold commissions that he received he availed himself of the assistance of numerous pupils, many of them poor painters (among others, of his two daughters Orsola Maddalena and Francesca, both of them nuns), a fact which accounts for the feebleness of many of his works.

FIG. 375.—MARTYRDOM OF S. PAUL. (A. MOLINERI.) Gallery, Turin.

With the advance of the seventeenth century the number of

artists increased, especially during the reign of Charles Emmanuel II. (1638-1675), who, loving display, erected many important buildings, among them the new Palazzo Reale at Turin and the Castello della Veneria. But his incredible mania for furnishing all these buildings in the shortest possible space of time led him to purchase pictures of every kind, many of them very inferior, and to give occupation to second-class painters; among these the Fleming, Jan Miel, who died at Turin in 1664, scarcely six years after he had migrated from Rome, is easily first. Giovanni Antonino Molineri, who was born at Savigliano about 1575 and was still living in 1642 (Fig. 375), carried out some broadly conceived frescoes.

FIG. 376.—PALAZZO CARIGNANO, TURIN.
(*Photo. Brogi.*)

Charles Emmanuel summoned from Savoy Laurent Dufour (died 1678?) and his brother Pierre (died 1702), while Charles Dauphin (died 1670), a pupil of Simon Vouet, came from Lorraine to enter the service of the Prince of Carignano.

FIG. 377.—CHURCH DELLA CONSOLATA, TURIN.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Charles Emmanuel was succeeded in 1675 by the youthful Victor Amadeus II., who reigned for more than half a century. At first he was devoted to warlike enterprises and to diplomacy; later on—after he had become king of Sicily in 1712—he applied himself with greater zeal and ardour to the patronage of art. A prominent painter of the day was the Viennese Daniel Seiter, whose innate heaviness of touch and poverty of colour had been little improved by a course of study at Venice. In 1687 he

received the appointment of painter to the Ducal court, and he painted among other things a whole gallery in the Palazzo Reale.

In fact the reign of Victor Amadeus, in spite of its long duration, would have to be considered as artistically one of the least important in the annals of Savoy, had it not happened that, in 1713, while travelling in Sicily, he had made the acquaintance, and appreciated the work of, Filippo Juvara or Juvarra, the famous architect of Messina (1685–1735).

FIG. 378.—CASTELLO DEL VALENTINO, TURIN.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

When Juvara arrived in Turin many good examples were to be found there of the Baroque style of architecture; among these we must reckon, not so much the works of the Orvietan architect Ascanio Vittozzi, who built the church of Corpus Domini in 1610, as those of Carlo Emanuele Lanfranchi, the architect of the Palazzo di Città (1669, Fig. 374), of Carlo Amadeo Castellamonte, the architect of the Palazzo Ducale (now Reale) at Turin, and of the Castello della Veneria, and the designer of the Piazza San Carlo; and above all, those of the Modenese Guarino Guarini (1524–1683), to whom we owe the church of San Lorenzo, the Carignano Palace (Fig. 376), and a building that is admired above all for the originality of the conception and for the mechanical skill shown in the construction—the chapel of the Santa Sindone (Fig. 380), adjoining the cathedral. Meantime the fact should be noted that in Messina Guarini had successfully carried out several buildings (among them the celebrated church of the Theatines, the Annunziata), so that Juvara, before

FIG. 379.—SUPERGA, TURIN.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 380.—CAPPELLA DELLA SINDONE, CATHEDRAL, TURIN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

coming to Turin, and while still quite a youth, had an opportunity of appreciating the worth of the older architect in his native city and of there studying his work—work so full of vivacity and fancy, and at the same time constructively solid and severe.

For the rest it was thanks to Guarini that the imposing Italian type of the Baroque was able to assert itself boldly in Piedmont, and to hold the field against the French style, an attempt to impose which had been made in the case of the Castello del Valentino (Fig. 378), built by a pupil of the architect Salamon Debrosse at the command of Cristina (Madama Reale), daughter of Henry IV of France.

In 1713 the Ligurian Giovanni Antonio Ricca laid the foundation of the Turin University, and he was no doubt looking forward to occupation and fame, when Juvara came upon the scene to deprive him of every hope. When, in fact, the Sicilian architect arrived in Piedmont, he was already supported by the high estimation of his fellow artists and by the patronage of the Duke, and he was soon able to assert himself, thanks to principles informed by a certain classical simplicity, and influenced by the school of Carlo Fontana. In addition to this, the vivacity and promptness that he showed in the conception and execution of his designs aroused such universal admiration, that from every part of Italy, as well as from abroad, he was overwhelmed with requests for sketches and designs for altars, churches, and palaces. Meantime,

FIG. 381.—GRAND STAIRCASE, PALAZZO MADAMA, TURIN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

in the vicinity of Turin he built the Superga (Fig. 379), admirable for the grandeur of the whole conception; in the city itself the façade (Fig. 371), and the main staircase (Fig. 381) of the Palazzo Madama, the church of the Carmine, the façade of Santa Cristina, where indeed he has thrown to the winds his accustomed restraint; and, not to speak of other works, in the adjacent district the sumptuous castle at Stupinigi (Fig. 382).

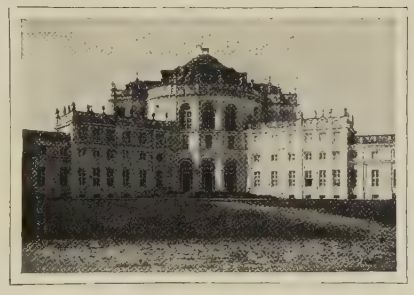

FIG. 382.—CASTLE, STUPINIGI. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

An architect from Mondovi, Francesco Gallo (1672-1750), was at work in Piedmont contemporaneously with Juvara. He was at once soldier, topographer, military engineer and architect, and to him we are indebted for more than one building that entitles him to rank as a true artist. All these, however, were surpassed in vigour and in beauty by the gigantic elliptical cupola raised by Gallo above the Santuario of Vicoforte, built by Vittozzi (Fig. 383). The Duke had recourse to Gallo repeatedly in connection with plans for fortifications, but he could never succeed in inducing him to abandon his native town and establish himself in Turin.

FIG. 383.—CHURCH, VICOFORTE. (*Photo. Melano Rossi.*)

Juvara, of course, left pupils and imitators behind him in Turin. Among the first were G. B. Sacchetti, who was taken by the master to Spain where he afterwards built the Royal Palace at Madrid; among the latter we must reckon Bernardo Vittone and Count Benedetto Alfieri who, in the church of SS. Giovanni Battista e Remigio (1756–1776) at Carignano, shows a certain eccentricity, but also proves his talent (Fig. 384).

In the domain of painting Claude Beaumont (1694–1766), who had worked in the school of Francesco Trevisani in Rome, rose to distinction. On his return to his native town, Turin, in 1731, Beaumont was appointed painter-in-chief to the king; here he accumulated honours and fortune, being with justice considered the most important artist of the day in Piedmont. His best known work is the decoration in fresco of the gallery in the Royal Palace, called after him the "Galleria Beaumont" (Fig. 385).

FIG. 384.—CHURCH OF SS. GIOVANNI BATTISTA AND REMIGIO, CARIGNANO. (*Photo. Ecclesia.*)

As is well-known, the eighteenth century closed with the abdication of Charles Emmanuel IV. (December, 1798) and the annexation of Piedmont by the French, who established a provisional government there and appointed a commission "of Arts," whose task it was to select the best pictures and to despatch them to Paris, where they were placed in the Museum of the Louvre. To this organised plundering, carried out under the pretext of enriching the public collections of Paris, must be added many arbitrary seizures by the French generals and officials for their private advantage. With the restoration of 1814, Victor Emmanuel I. returned to Piedmont and, as in the case of other princes who were restored to their states, he regained possession of many of the works of art that had been previously carried away.

FIG. 385.—TRIUMPH OF VENUS. (BEAUMONT.) Palazzo Reale, Turin. (*Photo. Charvet.*)

Of the various artistic movements of the nineteenth century something has already been said when treating of the art of Venice and of Lombardy. In Piedmont also there was an improvement

upon the past, only here the development came about under a more distinctly French influence, as may be readily seen in the works of Pietro Bagetti of Turin (1764–1835), who painted the victories of the French for Napoleon, and of his fellow citizens, G. B. de Gubernatis (1775–1837), both statesman and landscape painter, and Luigi Vacca (1771–1854), to whom we are indebted for the drop-scene of the Carignano theatre, where the spirit of Tiepolo is fused with the lighter touch of the French decorative artists in a composition remarkable for its gaiety and brilliance.

FIG. 386.—ULYSSES AND NAUSICAA. (M. D'AZEGLIO.) Museo Civico, Turin.

Meantime the neo-classic school was making way, thanks especially to the efforts of the sculptors, among whom we must mention Giacomo Spalla, a disciple of Canova, and Vittore Amadeo and Luigi Bernero who were also painters.

Piedmont indeed at this time produced some notable painters, but they did not remain there long, attracted above all by the fervour of the artistic life that prevailed in Milan. Giuseppe Mazzola (1748-1838), after having studied in Rome and worked at Turin as well as in his native Valduggia, took up his abode in Milan, and there, too, Giovanni Migliara of Alessandria (1785–1837) passed nearly the whole of his life, painting little landscapes, historical scenes and *genre* subjects with rare elegance.

FIG. 387.—PALAZZO CARIGNANO, PIAZZA CARLO ALBERTO, TURIN. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

The subsequent victory of the Romantic School corresponded very closely with the reorganisation brought about by Charles Albert in the Academy of Fine Arts, called at that time the

Albertina after him, although the institution dated back to the seventeenth century. Among the most notable masters of this period was Massimo d'Azeglio (1798–1866, Fig. 386), better known as a statesman and as an author. An important position was taken by sculpture, thanks to the distinguished work of Carlo Marocchetti (1805–1868), an unequal artist indeed, not always happy in his inspiration, but who attained from time to time to a rare level of excellence, as in his equestrian statue of Emmanuel Philibert. In addition to this, the Turin school of sculpture received support from the teaching of Vincenzo Vela (see pp. 177, 178); among his disciples were Scipione Cassano (d. 1906), the sculptor of the lifelike figure of Pietro Micca, and Pietro della Vedova (1831–1898).

FIG. 388.—CATHEDRAL, NOVARA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

At a later date the Lombard sculptor, Odoardo Tabacchi (1831–1905, see pp. 177, 178), taught at the Albertina, and his studio produced a band of young artists who do honour to Turin and to Italy at the present day.

It was, however, the landscape painters who were the first to emancipate themselves in some degree from the subjection to Romanticism, and to break fresh ground; and foremost among these we must reckon Antonio Fontanesi of Reggio Emilia (1818–1882), an erratic and poetical spirit, whose meritorious work was for long years almost entirely neglected. No doubt he felt the influence of the French painters,

FIG. 389.—A CARAVAN IN THE DESERT. (A. PASINI.)
Accademia, Florence. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

but this was only in externals—in the manner of execution—for the profoundly emotional, almost religious note which informs his landscapes is an essentially personal one. Nor did architecture lack notable representatives in Turin in the nineteenth century; the façade of the Palazzo Carignano confronting the Piazza Carlo Alberto (Fig. 387), is remarkable for its beauty; this palace was built between 1864 and 1871 by Gaetano Ferri of Bologna (died 1897) and Giuseppi Bollati of Novara (1819–1869); equally notable for vigour of conception is the erection originally built for a synagogue, then bought by the city as a national memorial of Victor Emmanuel II.; from the name of the architect—Alessandro Antonelli of Ghemme (1798–1888)—this has come to be known as the *Mole Antonelliana* (Fig. 390). The constructive skill shown by him in this building, which rises to a height of 164 metres, is admirable for the simplicity and the novelty of the means adopted. However, it cannot be said that all the parts combine to form a harmonious whole, and perhaps, from an æsthetic point of view, the cupola of S. Gaudenzio and the cathedral (Fig. 388) at Novara are better evidences of the genius of Antonelli.

FIG. 390.—MOLE ANTONELLIANA, TURIN. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

But enough of Piedmont, which, in spite of the many gifted artists it has produced, yet never attained in the domain of art to the lofty position of other regions, and this in consequence of a failure to combine the local forces and to direct them to the attainment of a definite type. The pages that we have devoted to this land, where names occur sporadically, and facts are but loosely correlated, inevitably reflect the character of the local art.

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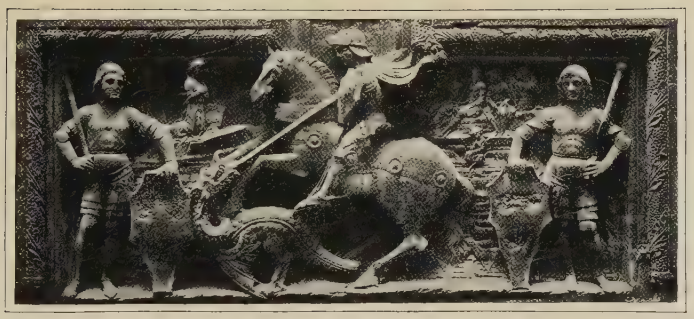

FIG. 391.—DOOR-HEAD. S. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON, PALAZZO IN VICO MELE, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER XVIII

SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE IN LIGURIA

Aspect of Liguria.—Roman Remains.—Romanesque Churches.—Gothic Churches.—General Character of Churches of Genoa.—Cathedral of S. Lorenzo.—Type of Genoese Palaces.—French and Tuscan Influences.—Majolica Tiles.—Magistri Antelami.—The Solari, and other Sculptors.—The Gaggini.—Galeazzo Alessi.—His Palaces in Genoa.—Later Architects.

A MARVELLOUS land is Liguria, sloping down to the sea upon the great curve of coast between Lerici and Turbia. There is perhaps no tract of land more varied, even if there be one more beautiful. The whole is a succession of small and half-hidden bays, of rugged rocks, of green meadows, of wooded hills, and of mountains crowned by ancient fortresses. On every side, amidst the luxurious vegetation and the endless throbbing of the sea, there are fishing villages alternating with sumptuous villas; cities swarming with busy life and with cheerful hostelries; delicious tranquil bays, with ports or arsenals crowded with men and with labour; and in the midst lies Genoa, the rich, proud, and magnificent city which dispenses employment and well-being to all the surrounding country, whence from every side she receives the undisputed homage and veneration due to a provident and careful mother.

He who believes Liguria to be devoted to gain and contemptuous of the arts does her injustice. True, she has preferred not to be herself a producer; but, on the other hand, she has eagerly sought for things of beauty and paid for them generously, although she may have had to go to other lands to satisfy her wants. Thus it happens that the region is essentially a home of art, and as such it presents

itself to one who traverses it without preconceptions, and does not confine his sojourns to the haunts of pleasure.

Here are fine Roman remains, such as the bridges over the Bormida at Millesimo and the Centa at Albenga; the sepulchral monument, known as the Faro, on the brow of the hill near the latter town; the singular lighthouse tower on the rocky islet opposite Bergeggi; the theatre at Ventimiglia and the ruins of Luni. Then again, coming to the Middle Ages we find such military works as the Soprana and Vacca gates at Genoa; the walls of Levanto, of Noli, of Monterosso, and of Porto Venere; the towers of Noli, of Andora, and of Portofino; the castle of the Doria at Dolceacqua, and those of Castelnuovo Magra, of Arcola, of Gavone at Finalborgo (Fig. 392), of Sarzana, of Appio, and, surpassing them all, the magnificent fortress of Lerici; then the Baptistery (Fig. 393) and the lower part of the façade of the cathedral at Albenga (the oldest Christian building in the whole of Liguria, perhaps of the fifth century); notable Romanesque churches, such as the cathedral and the baptistery at Ventimiglia; S. Siro with the adjacent *Canonica* at S. Remo; the cathedral at Gavi; the parish church of Borzonasca, with its exterior arcade supported by lofty wall-strips; S. Paragorio at Noli; the convent on the islet of Tino in the Gulf of Spezzia; the two churches dedicated to St. Bartholomew at San Pier d'Arena and the picturesque ruins of S. Pietro at Porto Venere, planted proudly upon the edge of the black rock that overhangs the sea. Then again we have a whole series of buildings in which the Romanesque arch is married to the ogival, and others in which the ogival has finally triumphed, as in the church of SS. Giacomo e Filippo, and in that of the Castello at Andora (Fig. 395); in the ruined church of Valle Cristi near Rapallo (Fig. 394), in the already mentioned cathedral of Albenga (Fig. 396), in the abbeys of Soviore at Monterosso, of S. Maria del Tiglieto at Cervara, of S. Fruttuoso with the tombs of the Dorias (Fig. 397), crouching, as if in fear

FIG. 392.—CASTEL GAVONE, FINALBORGO. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

of the wrath of the sea, between the rocks, and in those of Levanto, of Riomaggiore, and finally of S. Salvatore at Cogorno (Fig. 398), confronting the palace of the Fieschi in the little piazza, close by the valley where at all seasons the fresh stream of the Entella runs between banks lined with trees.

FIG. 393.—BAPTISTERY, ALBENGA.

Nor at Genoa is there any lack of churches belonging to the Romanesque and Gothic periods, such as S. Maria di Castello, S. Donato, SS. Cosmè e Damiano, S. Maria delle Vigne, of which the cloisters are of the eleventh century, the tower of the twelfth, while the interior dates from 1586; S. Matteo in its little antique piazza, and S. Giovanni Battista di Prè, remarkable for its lower church and its beautiful Gothic bell-tower (Fig. 399).

In these churches the basilican type predominates, with a tympanum and drip mouldings on the façade; the walls are strengthened by pilasters, and crowned by blind arcades. Above a single doorway, with simple mouldings, opens a great rose window. Generally, too, the façades and the side walls, and sometimes also the walls of the interior, are faced with bands of black and white marble.

FIG. 394.—RUINS OF THE CHURCH OF VALLE CRISTI, RAPALLO. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The square bell-towers usually terminate in a faceted spire with four pinnacles at the angles, after the French style; and at Genoa this French influence is shown also in the ornamental details of the cathedral dedicated to S. Lawrence, the richest and most interesting church in the whole of Liguria (Figs. 400,401).

The earliest records that we have of this building go back to the last years of the eleventh century, to a time when the

Crusaders, led by Guglielmo Embriaco, had just returned from the East bearing precious relics. The church was consecrated in 1118.

FIG. 395.—CHURCH OF THE CASTELLO, ANDORA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

To this time belong, at least in part, the side entrances and some sculptures in other parts with episodes in the life of the Virgin. The French influence appears, however, in the pilasters and in the relief within the lunette over the main entrance, where a Gothic arch gives evidence of a later period—of the beginning, perhaps, of the fourteenth century. It represents the Redeemer enclosed in the usual *mandorla,* between the symbols of the Evangelists, and below it we see the martyrdom of S. Lawrence. To this time also must belong the figure of the so-called *Arrotino,* carrying in his hand the disk of a sundial, a statue that has been wrongly regarded as representing some saint, such as S. Quirino, holding his emblem of martyrdom, a millstone (Fig. 401).

The cathedral was burnt in 1296, and the interior was rebuilt in the course of the following ten years in the pointed style then in favour (Fig. 402). One Marco da Venezia was employed on the work, perhaps the same man who built the cloisters of S. Matteo. Finally, in 1567, Galeazzo Alessi erected the cupola. During the two following centuries the building was degraded by various additions, and only in 1896 were any important works of restoration undertaken.

FIG. 396.—CATHEDRAL, ALBENGA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

The palace of S. Giorgio is typical of the ancient palaces of Genoa (Fig. 403): founded shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century, repaired in

the following century, and enlarged in 1571, the old building was only rescued from destruction and restored within the last few years. It rises in two storeys over the portico, the first with quadruple, the second with triple windows, and it is crowned by an embattled cornice.

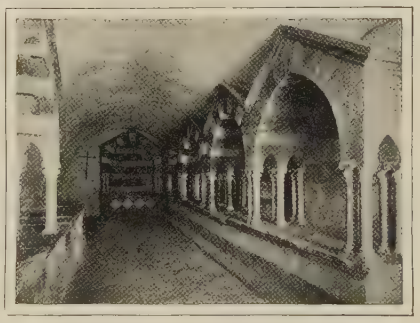

FIG. 397.—S. FRUTTUOSO, WITH THE TOMBS OF THE DORIA, PORTOFINO. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Of later date are the unique, richly decorated doorways, with architraves carved with sacred subjects —the Adoration of the Magi, the Annunciation, or, more often, S. George (Fig. 391). To these we shall return presently.

All the Ligurian buildings that have been mentioned so far reveal those foreign influences to which we have already referred. In the vaulting of the church of S. Michele at Ventimiglia we find the revelation of French influence, no less than in the sculptures of the cathedral at Genoa. On the other hand, the further we proceed along the Eastern Riviera towards the Tuscan frontier at the river Magra, the more pronounced are the borrowings from the Tuscan style. The great wheel-windows of the churches between Levanto and Spezzia (Riomaggiore and Monterosso) bear the impress of Pisa. This is still more evident in the decorative work in marble. The capitals, for example, together with the columns, were imported ready finished from the great workshops of the Carrara district. They were articles of commerce throughout the length and breadth of Liguria and even in foreign lands.

FIG. 398.—BASILICA OF S. SALVATORE, LAVAGNA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

There was another article of " artistic " commerce which spread

FIG. 399.—CHURCH OF S. GIOVANNI DI PRÈ, GENOA. (*Photo. Noack.*)

in the opposite direction, from west to east: this was the decorative majolica that had its origin in Spain. The *ambrogette* (tiles), with which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the pinnacles of the campanili of Albenga and Genoa were covered, and which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were used for the lining of walls and for pavements, as in the villa at Carignano, show distinct evidence of Hispano-Mauresque origin; such tiles remained in use until they were replaced by the products of the kilns of Savona and of Albissola, an industry that was based on that of Central Italy, from Faenza to Urbino.

The artists, however, most active in Liguria were the Lombards, those above all from the Antelamo valley. The resemblance between the Broletto at Como and the contemporary buildings at Genoa is patent, though they are not absolutely identical. The Genoese artists, indeed, whether native or foreign, did not in the end remain strictly subject to the Lombard canons; but, yielding to technical necessities, especially in working the local stone, they ended by creating a distinctly characteristic type of architecture, quite distinct from the original model.

FIG. 400.—CATHEDRAL OR CHURCH OF S. LORENZO, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Already by 1181 we find in Genoa a Martin and an Ottobono, *magistri Antelami*, a generic name under which it was the habit at that time to include all the *maestri* who came from the districts of Como and of Lugano. It is probable that the uniformity of the name was in no small measure due to the fact that these men almost always worked in unity, and that they were held together "by bonds of fraternity, by common habits of life, and often also by blood relationship." Thus it came about that these

Maestri Lombardi continued to work as sculptors and builders in Liguria for a very long time.

Antonio della Porta of Porlezza worked in the cathedral of Savona (1506), and at Genoa he built the gateway of the edifice erected by Lorenzo Cattaneo near S. Giorgio (1505) and carved the statue of Antonio Doria in the Palazzo di S. Giorgio (1509). Gian Giacomo della Porta (died 1555) was the author of a number of statues and of the great doors of the houses of the Giustiniani (1515), Salvago (1532), and Fieschi (1537) families, also of several fountains together with Niccolò da Corte, with whom, too, he worked at the statues for the Cibo chapel in the cathedral at Genoa. His doorways are no longer crowded with small figures and minute foliage; they exhibit a bold architectural development with columns and pilasters. In Guglielmo della Porta (1500?–1577) we have a greater man, but his presence was soon claimed at Rome, where, among other works, he has left us the tomb of Paul III., a monument which alone would suffice to ensure his fame.

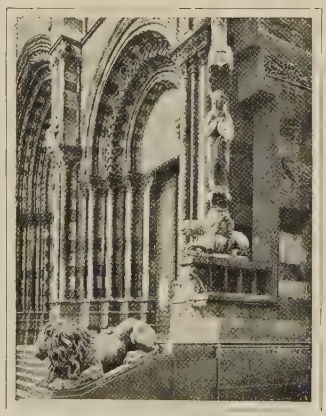

FIG. 401.—FRAGMENTS OF THE FAÇADE OF S. LORENZO, GENOA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

There was at work, too, in Genoa, a belated group of that numerous family of the Solari who came originally from the Carona district in the province of Como. A certain Tullio (not to be confounded with Tullio, the son of that Pietro who was the great founder of the school at Venice: see p. 24) was at work in the last years of the sixteenth century, upon the fountain which stood formerly in the Piazza Soziglia, and one Antonio, later on, upon another fountain formerly in the piazza in front of the Ducal Palace. Daniello, who, like Bernardo Schiaffino, adopted the manner of Bernini in Rome, and who died after 1702, introduced at Genoa all the pomp of the art he had learned in the Papal city; a florid example survives in a relief which adorns an altar in S. Maria delle Vigne. He became more refined when brought into contact with Puget, whom he assisted in the works carried out by the latter in Genoa.

The Aprile family also came from Carona, and already by 1470 we find them in Genoa. At a later date they were employed as sculptors in Spain along with the Gaggini and with members of the Della Scala family, who, again, were natives of Carona. The close relations between Genoa and Spain resulted in important and frequent commissions for the sculptors who flourished in Liguria.

We find Gaspare della Scala in Genoa up to the year 1494, and there he carved two doors for the Sauli family. The Molinari also worked with the Della Scala, all of them occupied upon various undertakings at Savona.

The Sormano family came originally from Osteno, and the oldest member of it decorated with sculpture the sacristy of the Collegiata dell'Assunta at Pra, near Voltri, in 1430. Pace Sormano, for the execution of several pieces of sculpture, entered into partnership with that fanciful sculptor Niccolò da Corte, the author, in 1530, of the baldacchino over the altar of San Giovanni Battista in the cathedral of Genoa (Fig. 404). It was also in the fifteenth century that the De Aria or De Oria family came down to Genoa from the Valsolda, and before long we find Michele, Giovanni, and Bonino at work decorating the churches and the streets of Genoa and of Savona. Michele, who was also an architect, carved, between 1466 and 1490, four statues for the Palazzo di S. Giorgio. But the work that has brought him most fame is the tomb of the parents of Sixtus IV. in the Sistine chapel at Savona. After that he had recourse, in the execution of the Adorno monument in S. Girolamo di Quarto, to the assistance of Girolamo da Viscardo, a sculptor whose graceful work also found favour in France.

FIG. 402.—INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL OF S. LORENZO, GENOA. (*Photo. Noack.*)

Many of the Lombard sculptors were at the same time architects, as, for example, Rocco Lurago, whose imposing yet elegant work has been often confused with that of Galeazzo Alessi. To him we are indebted for the famous Doria-Tursi palace, now the Palazzo Municipale (1590, Fig. 406), where he was assisted by his brother

FIG. 403.—PALAZZO DI S. GIORGIO, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Giovanni, and by Giacomo and Pietro Carlone, members of a family that came originally from the Val d'Intelvi—a prolific family that maintained its high artistic standard for fully three centuries. Among its most distinguished members were Michele, who was at work between 1497 and 1520, and Taddeo, who died in 1613. The latter was the author of the church of S. Pietro in Banchi, the decorative part of Nostra Signora della Misericordia near Savona, the fountains before the Palazzo Doria di Fassolo in Genoa, and the doorway of the Palazzo de Ferrari (Fig. 408).

Superior to all the others, both on account of their number and of their high attainments, were the Gaggini, some of whom passed from Genoa to Sicily, which is indebted to them for many works of distinguished merit.

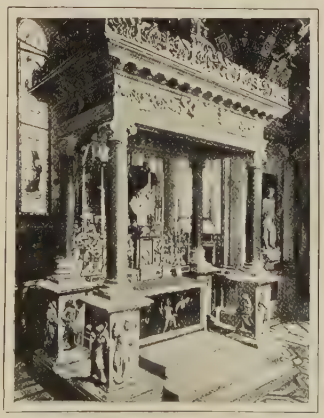

FIG. 404.—BALDACCHINO OVER THE ALTAR OF S. GIOVANNI, CATHEDRAL, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Notable examples of their work survive in every style, from the grace of the early Renaissance to the classicism of the late *cinquecento;* from the Baroque that followed this (Giacomo and Giuseppe) to the correct neo-classicism of Canova's day (Giuseppe, 1791–1867).

The founder of the family may be held to be Domenico di Pietro (died 1492), who came from Bissone in the Lugano district and was already in Genoa by 1448; here he took up his abode and opened a workshop; hither he summoned his relations and began and completed many rich, graceful, and delicate works, at a later date passing on to other tasks at Naples and in Sicily. His most important work,

FIG. 405.—CHAPEL OF S. GIOVANNI, CATHEDRAL, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

however, is at Genoa, the design of the chapel of S. Giovanni Battista in the cathedral (Fig. 405), a work carried out by him with the aid of his nephew Elia; the latter had shortly before returned from Udine, where, together with Lorenzo di Martino of Lugano, he had been employed upon the magnificent Loggia Comunale. After this Elia found other work to do in Genoa, but he, too, finally departed, being summoned to Città di Castello and to Perugia.

Meantime, Giovanni d'Andrea, who was at work between 1460 and 1491, built the palazzo that was afterwards presented by the Republic to Andrea Doria. Giovanni di Beltrame, known as Bissone (he died after 1506), introduced into Genoa those carved portals, richly decorated with ornaments and with figures the favourite subject for which was St. George slaying the dragon, as in that of the Palazzo Danovaro (formerly Doria). Giovanni's brother Pace (1450?–1522?, Figs. 407, 409) was also employed at the Certosa of Pavia, and, along with Antonio della Porta, known as Tamagnino, received commissions for France and for Spain, especially for Seville, in which city may also be found sculptures by Bernardino Gaggini, who flourished between 1513 and 1544.

FIG. 406.—PALAZZO DORIA-TURSI, GENOA. EXTERIOR. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

In the face of this stream of artists who descended upon Genoa from the heights of northern Italy, one must not overlook a few men who approached her from the other side, from Tuscany more especially. Matteo Civitali and Andrea Sansovino produced a number of beautiful statues for the chapel of

San Giovanni Battista in the cathedral; Giovan Angiolo Montorsoli, the wandering friar who scattered his works over half Italy, has left us in Genoa the magnificent Palazzo Doria a Fassolo (Fig. 410), to say nothing of the internal decoration of S. Matteo (Fig. 411); in this latter work he had the assistance of the Bergamasque architect Gian Battista Castello (1509–1579?), who built the Palazzo Imperiale (Fig. 412) and finally went to Spain on the invitation of Philip II. After the great sack of Rome, Perin del Vaga, the lively Florentine decorator, appeared in Genoa; here in the Palazzo Doria a Fassolo he achieved his most important work, one of the most splendid examples of the Raphaelesque style of decoration, a combination of stucco reliefs and of paintings of "histories" and of grotesques (Fig. 414). Nor must we overlook Gian Bologna, who later on executed some exquisitely graceful statues now in the University.

FIG. 407.—STATUE OF FR. LOMELLINI, PALAZZO DI S. GIORGIO, GENOA.

But among the many foreign artists who flocked to Genoa to embellish the city, Galeazzo Alessi is supreme; he was to Genoa what Sansovino was to Venice, Palladio to Vicenza, Michelangelo and Bernini to Rome.

Alessi was born at Perugia in 1512, and there he received his earliest training under G. B. Caporali and Giulio Danti. It was at Rome, however, and by Michelangelo that—so he himself confesses—the definite direction of his art was determined. On his return to the city of his birth, he found employment in various undertakings, especially at the Rocca Paolina (the castle built by Paul III.), and after having furnished the plans for several sacred

FIG. 408.—DOOR OF THE PALAZZO DE FERRARI, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 409.—DOOR OF THE PALAZZO DORIA IN THE VIA CHIOSSONE, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

buildings, he betook himself to Genoa in search of better fortune. Here, in 1549, we find him negotiating the contract for the erection of the church of S. Maria in Carignano (Fig. 413), together with the hospital and canons' residences. He also undertook the great works on the mole, and erected upon the crescent-shaped embankment a huge portico, in the centre of which a massive gateway, with three arches on the inner side, but only one externally, flanked by two solid gate-houses, gives access to the city.

There is reason to believe that Alessi had already taken part in the works connected with the enlargement of the city of Perugia; certainly in Genoa, starting from the year 1551, he devoted himself to the carrying out of the great municipal scheme for the systematic rebuilding and straightening of the Strada Nuova (now the Strada Garibaldi); it was he who designed nearly all the palaces that line this famous street.

Of the buildings erected by Galeazzo in Milan we have already spoken (see p. 168). His journeys to Bologna, to Umbria, to Pavia, and his various lesser undertakings we must pass over. He made plans for the Escurial, but never went to Spain. He preferred to remain at Genoa, and there he erected the cupola of the cathedral, many new palaces, such as the Centurione, the Sauli, the Cambiaso, the Parodi, Spinola, Giorgio Doria, Adorno, Serra, etc., as well as numerous villas—for example, the Cambiaso at S. Francesco d'Albaro, the Scassi (Fig. 417), and

FIG. 410.—PALAZZO DORIA A FASSOLO, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

the Spinola at San Pier d'Arena; he was thus occupied up to the time of his death, which occurred at the end of the year 1572.

It may be said that it was thanks to Alessi's activity that the type of the Genoese palace reached its full development and was fixed once for all. It had been a simple one in the hands of Montorsoli, who was contented to obtain any decorative effect he sought for from painting alone; with Castello it had become in a measure eclectic; it remained for Alessi to give it precise and definite character. Gifted with a sentiment for harmony and for grandeur, he was able to combine these qualities, even amidst grave difficulties, thanks to a happy disposition of the constituent parts and to a refined artistic taste. In accordance with his means and with the locality, he could be now sober and restrained, now profuse and daring. Certain it is that on every occasion when, as regards the building itself, the spacing or the light, he had full liberty for the display of his creative gifts, he produced true masterpieces.

FIG. 411.—CHURCH OF S. MATTEO, GENOA. INTERIOR. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 412.—HALL OF THE PALAZZO IMPERIALI, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

In S. Maria in Carignano, although closely following Michelangelo's design for St. Peter's, he succeeded in producing a new effect, by including the Greek cross of the plan within a square; the minor cupolas, again, do not take the form of satellites of the central dome, but rise independently as lantern-towers.

Galeazzo, in his palaces, generally placed above his ground floor a very lofty storey; at times, however, between the two we find a storey of less height; and between these, a string-course that projects con-

FIG. 413.—S. MARIA, CARIGNANO, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

siderably. Above, the building is completed by a bold cornice and by a balustrade. Still more characteristic are the staircases and the halls, to which access is obtained through the main doorway, which opens exactly in the centre. These noble vestibules compensate for the small size of the inner courts; they serve also to give an air of magnificence to the part of the palace best seen from the narrow street. There is a single flight of stairs (generally to the left); in the richer examples there are two; these stairs are resolved into the architectonic scheme of the peristyle, and in *movement* and in variety of line they add greatly to the scenic effect. Indeed, the expedients adopted to achieve this effect were extraordinary. At times the various proprietors came to an agreement that enabled the architect to arrange their respective entrance halls upon the same axis, obtaining by this means a common advantage in the greater perspective effect of their houses.

FIG. 414.—FRAGMENT OF A CEILING, PALAZZO DORIA, GENOA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Nor, in Genoa, did the line of good architects come to an end in the seventeenth or the eighteenth century. Antonio Rocca, who was also a painter, has left us in the little church of S. Torpeto a marvellous example of grace and beauty; while the Comascene, Bartolomeo Bianco, inherited from Alessi his feeling for grandeur, if not his restraint, and, without departing from the traditional type, he succeeded in enriching it with some novel elements; this we may see in the Palazzo dell'Università (1628, Fig. 415), in the Palazzo Balbi-Senarega (which was

enlarged in the eighteenth century by Pier Antonio Corradi), and in the Palazzo Durazzo Pallavicino; to this last palace a superb staircase was added by Andrea Tagliafico, who found work also in the transformation of the interior of the Palazzo Serra; meanwhile Gregorio Petondi erected the Palazzo Balbi; here, after overcoming by his ingenuity the difficulties of the ground, he built an entrance hall of great scenic effect, where the staircase curves round to form as it were a bridge (Fig. 416).

FIG. 415.—HALL OF THE PALAZZO DELL'UNIVERSITÀ, GENOA.
(*Photo. Brogi.*)

The last work of importance, from an architectural point of view, though not the last building erected in Genoa in the eighteenth century, was the façade of the Palazzo Ducale, which was begun in 1778 by Simone Cantone (1736–1818).

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FIG. 416.—HALL AND STAIRCASE, PALAZZO BALBI, GENOA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 417.—PALAZZO SCASSI, S. PIER D'ARENA.
(*Photo. Noack.*)

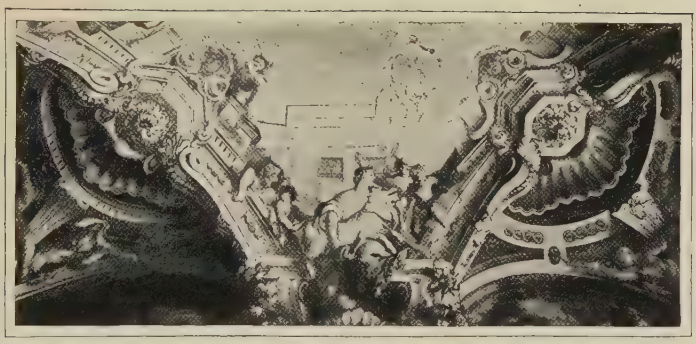

FIG. 418.—CEILING OF THE SALA D'AUTUNNO, BRIGNOLE-SALE GALLERY, GENOA. (D. PIOLA.) (*Photo. Noack.*)

CHAPTER XIX

PAINTING IN LIGURIA

THE SCHOOLS OF GENOA

The Genoese School of Painting.—Foreign Artists in Liguria.—Taggia.—Lodovico Brea and His School.—Group of Painters at Nice.—Luca Cambiaso.—Rubens and Vandyck at Genoa.—Flemish Painters Working in the City.—G. B. Paggi.—The Piola Family.—Il Prete Genovese.—Baciccia.—Minor Artists.

So far we have seen that with few exceptions Genoa produced neither sculptors nor architects, and that the examples of sculpture and architecture to be found there (the latter, indeed, so happily adapted to their position as to create special types dependent upon technical needs and upon local exigencies) are almost exclusively the work of foreigners. But the same cannot be said of painting, seeing that the town has produced a number of painters, and, what is more important, a true *Genoese School* arose there, though this was limited in scope and late in origin.

We leave to others to collect the earliest scattered records, few and brief, concerning the paintings executed in Liguria from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, more especially in Genoa and Savona, where towards the close of this period there was a preponderance of painters of Tuscan origin. It is of more importance for us to note that by the fifteenth century, as a result of commercial intercourse, we find in Genoa a growing tendency to favour that foreign school of painting which under Flemish influence was spreading through Spain, Germany, France, and Italy, chiefly by way of

the Rhine valley. Innumerable are the paintings, for the most part Flemish, and some of them unquestionably of value, that were to be seen in Genoa in the past: so many were they, indeed, that in spite of the fact that the degenerate descendants of the original purchasers have vied with one another in finding a market for them, not a few still remain in the city.

Some of these foreign artists even took up their abode in Liguria. Mention must be made of Alexander of Bruges and of Justus of Ravensburg; an *Annunciation* (Fig. 419) by the latter is preserved in the cloisters of S. Maria di Castello, where, too, Conrad of Germany decorated the vaults with frescoes of Sibyls and Prophets (Fig. 421).

FIG. 410.—ANNUNCIATION. (JUSTUS OF RAVENSBURG.)
Cloister of S. Maria di Castello, Genoa.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Conrad of Germany worked for the most part at Taggia, a pleasant little village between San Remo and Porto Maurizio. There Domenico Emanuele Macario and Lodovico Brea received their art training under his guidance, so that by some, Taggia is regarded as the original home of Genoese painting. Others give the merit to Justus of Germany, and others, again find that in the case of those Ligurian painters who show signs of Flemish training we must also take account of Catalan artists, such as Bartolomeo Rubeus, who acquired their technique and formed their style in Flanders, and then carried what they had learned to the Mediterranean coasts—to Sicily, to Naples, and to Liguria, where they penetrated as far as the Monferrato country. Indeed, there is a triptych signed by Rubeus in the cathedral of Acqui.

That Taggia was for long a favourite resort of artists seems indubitable. In no other town of Liguria, except of course in Genoa, can early paintings be found in such abundance: it boasts several precious works of Brea and of his school, a triptych attributed to Conrad, a polyptych in the style of Canavesio, an altarpiece by Macario, and another by Raffaello de' Rossi.

On the other hand, while relations with Tuscan painters cannot have ceased altogether, many artists came into Liguria from Piedmont, among them the already-mentioned Mazone, Jacopo, his father, Galeotto Nebea (at work 1497–1518), and Luca Baudo of Novara; others came from Lombardy (especially after the time when the republic had placed itself under the protection of Filippo Maria Visconti), notably Montorfano, Carlo Braccesco, known also as Carlo del Mantegna, Lorenzo de' Fazoli, Donato Bardo of Pavia (Fig. 422), and, before any of these, the strenuous Foppa, who was employed at Genoa, at Rivarolo, and at Savona on several occasions after 1478.

FIG. 420.—CRUCIFIXION. (LODOVICO BREA.) Palazzo Bianco, Genoa. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

Was it indeed possible that the local painters could have resisted the fascination of Foppa's pictures? Brea's collaboration with him in the triptych at Savona (1490) is not likely to have been without results.

Macario, a native of Pigna, a village on the western Riviera, was a Dominican friar, attached to the convent of S. Maria della Misericordia at Taggia. He was alive and at work until after 1522, but as an artist he belongs to the fifteenth century.

FIG. 421.—CEILING OF THE CLOISTER OF S. MARIA DI CASTELLO, GENOA. (CONRAD OF GERMANY.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

A notable group of artists flourished at Nice, among them Giacomo Duranti (who painted an altar-piece for the island of Lérins, off the coast of Provence, in 1454), Giovanni Miralieti, and the members of the famous Brea family, including Lodovico (1458?–1519, Fig. 420), Antonio, his son (at work 1504–1545), and Francesco (at work 1530–1562, Fig. 423), who was either his

FIG. 422.—CRUCIFIXION. (BARDO PAVESE.)
Gallery, Savona.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

son or his nephew. Among the artists of Nice, Lodovico takes a prominent position, due to the superior refinement of his figures and to the vivacity of his colouring. These men were followed by Teramo Piaggia of Zoagli and by Antonio Semini (1525–1591, Fig. 424), the first a timid painter, held in the bonds of tradition, the second eager to change his style and to advance in the manner of Pier Francesco Sacchi of Pavia, and above all, in that of Perin del Vaga.

Luca Cambiaso (1527–1585, Fig. 425), was the greatest among the artists of Genoa, a man who was so precocious as to have mastered his art at the age of fifteen, and so rapid in execution that he was believed to paint equally well with either hand. Fervently devoted to his art, he did not disdain to listen to the teaching of Alessi and to that of his friend G. B. Castello; the latter we have seen as an architect (pp. 239 and 241), but he was at the same time a painter of refinement and distinction; like Luca, he was employed in the Escurial. Eager to know everything and to attempt everything, Cambiaso, when already well advanced in years, went to Florence, to Rome, and to other cities to study the most famous works of the heroes of the Renaissance. His drawings, too, which are to be found in abundance in all the great collections, have been admired for the rapidity of their execution and their dexterity; but their mannerisms, due to an excessive use of angular strokes and of calculated foreshortenings, are more conspicuous than their spontaneity and truth. In some of his paintings, on the other hand, Cambiaso attains to a high level of excellence, thanks to the grandeur of his composition, the well-balanced vigour of his

FIG. 423.—POPE S. FABIAN.
(FRANCESCO BREA.)

chiaroscuro, the beauty of his colour, and the dignity of his figures. The *Paradise* that he painted in the Escurial was greatly admired, but modern critics find in it much that is unequal and a weakness due, no doubt, to the state of his mind at this time, when, having lost all hope of marrying the lady with whom he was passionately in love, Cambiaso fell into a state of languor and decline.

FIG. 424. MARTYRDOM OF S. ANDREW. (A. SEMINI.)
S. Ambrogio, Genoa. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Among the artists who flocked to Genoa at this period were Valerio Corte (1520–1580), a native of Pavia, who brought the manner of Titian from Venice, and his son Cesare (1550–1613), who followed Cambiaso, and assimilated his delicacy and fine colour. Bernardo Castello (1557–1644) was more akin to the school of Bergamo; intoxicated by the plaudits of the most famous poets of his day, he fell into a hasty and facile style; he was, however, not without a feeling for grace and a happy gift of invention, as we may see in his illustrations to the *Gerusalemme liberata*, which found favour with Tasso himself.

FIG. 425.—PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE. (CAMBIASO.)
Church of S. Lorenzo, Genoa. (*Photo. Noack.*)

But the school founded by Castello, and indeed the art of Genoa as a whole, would at this point have been in danger of perishing had not a fresh wave of beneficent foreign influence come to give it renewed vigour. From every side artists of sterling merit flocked to the wealthy and superb queen of the Ligurian coast. As early as 1595 Federico Barocci had enriched the town with the *Crucifixion* which he painted for the Doge Matteo Senarega. Later on we find here Sofonisba Anguissola of Cremona

(see p. 190), who brought her fellow-artists together at pleasant gatherings, and Agostino Buonamici, known as Tassi, a talented landscape-painter (he was, indeed, the master of Claude Lorrain), although a man of evil reputation. But of the Italians who came to Genoa the greater number were from Tuscany; from Siena came Ventura Salimbeni, Ottavio Ghissoni, and Pietro Sorri, a native of S. Gusmè, near Castelnuovo Berardenga, and an imitator of Andrea del Sarto; from Pisa, Cristoforo Roncalli, known as Pomarance, from the place of his birth; to say nothing of Simone Balli, a Florentine, a refined imitator of the same Andrea; Balli's master, Aurelio Lomi, and finally the latter's brother Orazio, known as Gentileschi (Fig. 426), an artist so original in his composition and pleasing in his execution that his works were in demand not only in France, but in Spain and in England also.

FIG. 426.—ANNUNCIATION. (O. LOMI.) Gallery, Turin. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

For the rest, the Genoese artist, Gian Battista Paggi (1554–1627), a cultured and many-sided man, derived from the art of Florence principles of severity and, above all, accuracy of drawing; at the instigation of his father he had made himself master of the most disparate arts—of painting, of sculpture, of music, of fencing, and of horsemanship. As an artist his first master was Luca Cambiaso; but when, later on, he was banished from Genoa under penalty of death, for having, after long provocation, slain a fellow-citizen, he made his appearance at Florence after a period of wandering. There he gained the favour of the court and became a friend of Gian Bologna; and there he carried out important works for S. Maria Novella, for the Monastero degli Angioli, for the Annunziata Church, and for other places. Paggi remained in Florence for at least twenty years, that is to say, until 1599, in which year he was enabled to return to Liguria, settling first in Savona and then, a few years later, in Genoa.

Meanwhile two artists, whose genius could not fail to exercise an extraordinary influence, made their appearance in Genoa: Peter Paul Rubens and Antony Vandyck. Rubens visited the town in the

summer of 1608, and painted some portraits full of life, as well as some sacred and *genre* subjects; he made architectural drawings, too, of several of the palaces, which he published later on at Antwerp. Vandyck visited Genoa in the autumn of 1621, and returned later on; he painted nearly fifty pictures in the city, among them a series of superb portraits, notable for their beauty of design, of execution, and of sentiment. But these two were not the only Flemish painters who visited Genoa. Many of the pupils of Rubens, of Jordaens, of David Teniers the elder, and of Frans Snyders, taking advantage of the commercial relations between the two countries, and attracted by the reputation that the upper classes of Genoa had acquired as eager lovers of art and of splendour, flocked to the town; some of them even took up their abode there. There was at the time an abundant demand, not so much for works of sacred art as for decorative paintings for the adornment of rooms in the palaces, and for subjects of *genre*, battle-pieces, animals, landscapes, and portraits. The activity of this group of Flemish painters (among them we find a few Frenchmen, such as Simon Vouet, and a few Germans, such as Gottfried Wals) continued at Genoa for about twenty years; for less time, perhaps, than in other parts of Italy, as at Parma, Florence, and above all, in Rome; but the phase was more intensive and more productive, and this probably for the reason that in the Ligurian capital the Northern artists had not to overcome the resistance of flourishing local schools and of weighty traditions.

FIG. 427.—FRESCO. (G. BENSO.)
Church of the Annunziata del Vastato, Genoa. (*Photo. Noack.*)

The Genoese, too, for that matter, went to Florence, and to Rome, and—in this following in the steps of the Bolognese masters—to Parma, where Correggio's masterpieces were to be seen in all their glory; but on their return to their home the vivacity of the Flemish painters finally drew them within their orbit. Paggi himself, though trained in the severe school of Florentine draughtsmanship, became in the end an admirer of Rubens, of Vandyck, and

of the others; he lauded their works and sought their acquaintance; pointing the way as it were to his own pupils and followers, who thus came to form an intermediate school between the restrained and finished style of the *cinquecento* painters, and the approaching *terribilità* of the Naturalists. To this group belong Castellino Castello (1579–1649), who was so successful a portrait-painter as to win the praise of Vandyck, and Giulio Benso (1601–1668), who abandoned figure subjects to devote himself to architectural and "perspective" pieces, which he treated with great success, as we may see in his fresco at the Annunziata del Vastato (Fig. 427), where, close by, Andrea Ansaldo (1584–1638), his great rival in architectural painting, frescoed a cupola, which shows that while he was a follower of Cambiaso he had enriched his palette with the golden tints of Rubens. Other members of this school are Domenico Fiasella, known from the place of his birth as Sarzana (1589–1669), an artist full of poetry and of repose, prompt and eager both in conception and in execution, but not less so in imitating the works of others, and Francesco Capurro, who, on passing to Modena, abandoned the style of Fiasella and adopted that of Ribera. Gregorio de Ferrari, too, was a disciple of Fiasella, but before long he took to exaggerating the manner of Piola, and became a fervid devotee of Correggio, not always imitating the best and sanest elements of that artist's work, with the result that his pictures are at times incorrect and confused. On the other hand, in Valerio Castello (1625–1659, Fig. 428), the son of Bernardo, we have an artist who also began as an imitator of Fiasella, but who found in Correggio, in Procaccini, and in Vandyck elements of colour with which to give additional animation to those artistic gifts of his own which are manifested in his brilliant frescoes in S. Marta at Genoa.

FIG. 428.—RAPE OF THE SABINES. (V. CASTELLO.) Uffizi, Florence. (*Photo. Perazzo.*)

Capellino was the artistic progenitor of the Piola family: Pellegro (1617–1640), whom a violent death at the age of twenty-

three prevented from developing the gifts that are revealed in his rare pictures, was an imitator of Andrea del Sarto; his works show taste and accuracy; Domenico (1628–1703, Fig. 418) had sentiment and grace, but his composition is commonplace, his effects of light are over-insistent, and his pictures are crowded with unimportant details. Domenico had three sons (Paolo Girolamo—Fig. 431—Antonio, and Giovanni Battista) and a nephew (Domenico the younger) who were painters; but of these, as we shall see, Paolo alone is of importance.

FIG. 429.—CEILING OF THE SALA DI PRIMAVERA. (G. DE FERRARI.) Brignole-Sale Gallery, Genoa. (*Photo. Noack.*)

A higher level was reached by the artists who issued from the school of Pietro Sorri (1556–1622). He was the master of Giovanni Andrea Carlone (1591?–1630, Fig. 430), a talented decorator, who at a later date, along with his brother Giovanni Battista, received instruction from Passignano, the father-in-law and master of Sorri. Of Giovanni, Lanzi writes that he was endowed "with a genius, unsurpassed in his day, for the treatment of historical subjects, that his drawing is accurate and full of grace, that the expression he gave to his figures is penetrating and judiciously determined, above all, that as a fresco-painter his colour is of rare merit."

FIG. 430.—CEILING IN THE BRIGNOLE-SALE GALLERY, GENOA. (G. A. CARLONE.) (*Photo. Noack.*)

Giovanni Battista (1595?–1680), who died at a great age, was not inferior to his brother. He worked along with him in the Annunziata del Vastato—the beautiful three-aisled church restored by Giacomo della Porta in 1587—and there they carried out one of the grandest schemes of pictorial decoration of the seventeenth century, a scheme rich in composition, varied and

animated in the highest degree in the play of the figures, of the light, and of the colours. The two brothers (Giovanni Andrea more especially) executed their tasks with rare diligence and sagacity, and successfully accomplished a vast amount of work in churches, palaces, and houses in Genoa and in other places in Liguria; they even worked in Milan, where they have left an impressive *Elevation of the Cross* on the vault of S. Antonio Abbate.

FIG. 431.—THE SUPPER AT EMMAUS. (P. G. PIOLA.) Palazzo Bianco, Genoa.

The other distinguished pupil of Sorri was Bernardo Strozzi (1581–1644, Fig. 432), known also as the Cappucino Genovese and still more often as the Prete Genovese; it was, however, but for a short time that he remained faithful to his teaching, for having seen some examples of the arrogant naturalism of Michelangelo da Caravaggio, he broke away definitely from his early style. A number of portraits full of life as well as some *genre* pieces (among them the *Beggar* in the Roman National Gallery), now scattered through the world, have ensured his reputation as an artist of exceptional vigour, not always free from coarseness and vulgarity. It is impossible to judge him as a decorative fresco-painter out of his native city, where the work that he carried out in certain palaces and churches gives proof of a novelty of general conception, combined with vigorous yet harmonious colour. Weary of the limitations imposed upon him by the habit of his order, he attempted to throw off the bonds of the cloister, donning the dress

FIG. 432.—CHRIST AND THE PHARISEES. (BERNARDO STROZZI.) Uffizi, Florence. (*Photo. Perazzo.*)

of a secular priest. His superiors, however, after tolerating this for some time, succeeded in getting him into their hands again, and in retaining him as a prisoner for several months. Having made his escape, he betook himself to Venice. There he died, deeply regretted by his admirers and by the disciples whom he had left behind him in Genoa. (See above, p. 81.)

FIG. 433.—PORTRAIT OF CLEMENT IX. (BACICCIA.)
Accademia di S. Luca, Rome.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

Among these disciples mention must be made of Giovanni Andrea de' Ferrari (1598–1669, Fig. 429), an imaginative and powerful painter, whose colour, however, was often dull and turbid; and of Giovanni Bernardo Carbone (1614–1683), a follower of Vandyck who painted portraits with character and expression (Fig. 435).

Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1616–1670, Fig. 436) has been reckoned by some as a disciple of Paggi, regardless of the fact that Castiglione was only eleven years old at the time of Paggi's death. Like Ambrogio Samengo, Castiglione must have received his training in the school of Giovanni Andrea de' Ferrari, whose ruddy tones he repeats; but he attained to a greater unity by the study of the works of the Bassani, and to a superior refinement, thanks to the beneficent influence of Vandyck. A prolific artist and of a lively temperament, his favourite subjects were scenes of pastoral life, or if he turned to historical or Biblical themes, he chose those which gave an opportunity for the introduction of animals. During his lifetime he also had great success at Florence, and at Rome, Venice, and Mantua; but afterwards his numerous

FIG. 434.—PENDENTIVE OF THE CUPOLA OF S. AGNESE, PIAZZA NAVONA, ROME. (BACICCIA.)

pictures were neglected and even confused with the very mediocre productions of his son Francesco, so that his reputation, which is now again on the ascendant, thanks to the admiration felt for his engravings, suffered an eclipse.

FIG. 435.—PORTRAIT. (G. B. CARBONE.)
National Gallery, Rome.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

Raffaele Soprani is better known by his lives of the Genoese artists than by his work as a painter.

The effect of the plague of 1657 upon Genoese art and artists can only be compared with the events in Rome after the sack of 1527. Those who survived, seeing all around them solitude, grief and anguish, sought for solace and work in exile. Among these was Giovanni Battista Gaulli, known as Baciccia (1639–1709), whose prodigious activity found a field in Rome, whither various other Ligurian artists flocked at this period, attracted by the fame of Pietro Berrettini da Cortona and of Carlo Maratta. Among them was Domenico Parodi (1668–1740), who has left us a decorative masterpiece in the saloon of the Palazzo Negroni.

But we must now turn to Baciccia, an artist formed in the school of Rome, where he lived and carried out works in fresco on a large scale; in some respects he may be regarded as the greatest of the Genoese artists. He received only his earliest training in Genoa, for when only eleven years old he seized an opportunity of embarking for Civitavecchia and making his way to Rome. There he took up his abode with a French painter who employed him in making copies of his pictures. But his career

FIG. 436.—YOUNG WOMAN AND CHILD.
(G. B. CASTIGLIONE.)
Museo Nazionale, Naples. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

may be said to have commenced only on the day that the great arbiter at that time in art matters, Lorenzo Bernini, took him under his protection. At first he painted a number of portraits and small fanciful subjects (*quadretti d'invenzione*), later on altar-pieces, and then he turned to the decoration of cupolas and ceilings (Fig. 434). The greatest of his paintings is the ceiling of the Gesù, a work upon which he was occupied for at least fifteen years. Here he painted the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* with a crowd of angels and of saints, filled with ecstatic joy, amid dancing lights and colours, gilded clouds rising as vapour between the architectural mouldings, upon which he represents them as casting passing shadows. To waste time upon a detailed search for defects here and there in the rendering of varied and difficult foreshortenings would belittle the critic rather than the painter. Baciccia, of course, was no Correggio, but no work of its class or of its day in Rome shows equal life or gives equal pleasure. The *Triumph of the Order of S. Francis*, painted by him subsequently upon the vault of the SS. Apostoli, is in many respects inferior. As years went on Baciccia's talent declined, perhaps as a consequence of his grief at the suicide of his son, and the death of Bernini, whose counsels he had so happily followed. But even at an advanced age he did some excellent work. He was much admired as a portrait-painter and with good reason. His portrait of Clement IX. is painted in the style of Velazquez, and its grasp of character and mastery of technique make it but little inferior to the portraits of the great Spaniard (Fig. 433).

FIG. 437.—FOREST SCENE WITH PRAYING HERMITS. (MAGNASCO.) Uffizi, Florence. (*Photo. Perazzo.*)

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Giuseppe Palmieri (1674–1740), an admirer of Castiglione, showed talent as an animal-painter; but although his colour was effective, he was a bad draughtsman. So again Pier Paolo Raggi (1646?–1724), painter of wild bacchanalian scenes, a man of irascible temperament, betrays the influence of Castiglione in his work, and the same may be said of Carlo Antonio Tavella, known as Solfarolo (1668–1738), a

native of Milan and a pupil in that town of Tempesta; he worked afterwards at Genoa. Alessandro Magnasco, known as Lissandrino (1681–1742), is a most lively and entertaining artist; there is a charming vivacity in his little slim figures, drawn with rapid brush strokes against a background of ruins and landscape, lit here and there by dazzling gleams of light that contrast sharply with large dark masses (Fig. 437). But the Genoese school was destined to eclipse for a time, under the most conflicting influences; nor was it in the power of the Accademia Ligustica to restore it, although during the nineteenth century this Academy produced several artists of merit: among painters, Santo Bertelli, who has left us some notable frescoes, above all at Arenzano; and Niccolò Barabino of S. Pier d'Arena (1831–1891), who, although established in Florence, carried out many works in Genoa, in the Celesia, Pignone, and Orsini palaces, as well as in the Municipio (Fig. 438); among sculptors, Santo Varni (1807–1885), a faithful and correct adherent of the neo-classical school; and among architects, Carlo Barabino (1768–1835), the designer of the Palazzo dell'Accademia and of the Carlo Felice theatre, which building, as well as the Villa Pallavicini at Pegli, was decorated by Michele Canzio (1784–1868).

FIG. 438.—NAVIGATION. (N. BARABINO.)
Palazzo Comunale, Genoa. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

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FIG. 439.—RELIEF ON THE FAÇADE OF THE CATHEDRAL, MODENA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER XX

EMILIA

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE TO THE TIME OF THE RENAISSANCE

The Emilia Defined.—Relics of the Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic Periods.—The Rise of the Communes and the Religious Orders.—Piacenza.—Castell' Arquato.—Borgo San Donnino.—Parma, Cathedral and Baptistery.—Cathedral of Modena.—Cathedral of Ferrara.—The Towers of Bologna.—Gothic Churches at Bologna.—Sculpture: Jacopo della Quercia.

FIG. 440.—CATHEDRAL, PIACENZA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

THE northern slopes of the Apennines from the River Trebbia to Rimini, the long and tortuous course of the Po from Piacenza to the sea, the Adriatic from Punta della Maestra to La Cattolica—these are the limits of the happy region known as *Emilia,* from that magnificent road, wide and straight, which traverses it for a length of more than two hundred miles, a road that was constructed by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus 187 years before Christ, and which even to-day passes through walled towns, strongholds, and cities famous in history—Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Modena,

Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forlì, Cesena, and Rimini. Under the name of Emilia, it is usual to comprise the district of Romagna, a region whose boundaries have never been sharply defined, either in ancient or modern times. Indeed, while Dante, when he declares it to be comprised

"Fra il Po ed il monte, la marina e il Reno,"

appears to include within its boundaries both Ferrara and Bologna; at the present day, restricted to the two provinces of Ravenna and Forlì, it cannot even claim Imola.

However this may be, we cannot fail to recognise in this land as a whole not only the rich fertility of the soil, but a marvellous vitality in the spirit of the inhabitants.

During the whole of the long period of the Renaissance there was in fact no other region of Italy which comprised so many independent Courts, each "a home of culture." While Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples concentrated the intellectual life of a wide surrounding district, leaving the lesser cities to a certain degree in the shade, in Emilia, every centre, however small, had its own Court, renowned for its culture and for its artistic importance.

FIG. 441.—FAÇADE OF THE CHURCH, POMPOSA. (*Photo. Cassarini.*)

Of Roman monuments, in which the district was rich, many ruins and fragments survive, but apart from the long and splendid bridge and the triumphal arch at Rimini, both dating from the time of Augustus, the only remains in a tolerable state of preservation are a few unimportant bridges on the Via Emilia. Among the excavations the most important are those of the ancient city Velleia, situated among the hills of the Piacenza district, between the Chero and the Arda.

On the other hand, for the so-called Byzantine period, the region boasts the most conspicuous city in all Italy, Ravenna, a city of which we have already spoken, and for the two succeeding periods, those of Romanesque and Gothic art, a vast number of monuments, many of them glorious examples.

As in other districts, few of these buildings, of course, are of an earlier date than the twelfth century; it was, indeed, only in the course of that century that life in Italy attained to a certain degree of culture, or at least to an individual character and form of expression. However, we may find in Emilia some notable examples even of the architecture of that long period of preparation which extended from the ninth to the eleventh century; S. Maria di Pomposa, for instance, built in the ninth century (Fig. 441), with a tower dating from 1063; the parish church of S. Leo; S. Stefano at Bologna; the so-called Palace of Theodoric at Ravenna (see p. 9), as well as other early buildings. We find little evidence of oriental or other foreign influence; nearly everything appears to be a growth from early native types, more especially those of Ravenna. It was this continuity of development that saved the country from sudden and incongruous changes, and favoured a slow and gradual evolution of architectural forms. The terra-cotta decorations of the church at Pomposa, not moulded, but modelled by hand, are identical with those formerly in the contemporary monastery of S. Alberto, nearer to Ravenna, and also with those found in Ravenna itself, which latter were used as material in the palace that once belonged to Guido Novella da Polenta (examples of both are now in the city museum). In this terra-cotta we

FIG. 442.—PALAZZO COMUNALE, PIACENZA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 443.—CASTLE AND CHURCH, CASTELL'ARQUATO.
(*Photo. Cassarini.*)

have a product characteristic of Ravenna, and one of great interest as illustrating the art of the time.

The predilection for buildings with a central space continued during the eleventh century and even to a later date, with variations in the details. The use of independent baptisteries also, a practice that had by this time been discontinued in other regions, was long retained in Emilia (as also in Lombardy and in Venetia); but in course of time even here it gradually fell into disuse, as the practice of baptism by immersion was abandoned, and the baptismal font took its place within the cathedral or parish church.

In the meantime, as the communes and the great communities of the Franciscans and the Dominicans grew in strength, an ever-increasing desire for their embellishment with buildings of importance manifested itself in the newly awakened cities; and in every important centre in the Emilian province superb edifices arose.

FIG. 444.—CATHEDRAL, BORGO S. DONNINO. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

At Piacenza, where indeed huge churches such as S. Savino and S. Antonino were already in existence, the cathedral was begun in 1122, and finished a full century later (Fig. 440). On the west front four wall-strips indicate the division of the interior into three naves, access to which is given by three doorways, each of which is approached through a porch of two storeys. Above the central door is a rose window; above each side door is a gallery with an arcade supported by small columns, similar to that which runs along the tympanum and follows its inclination. On the façade the two periods of construction may be distinguished by the diversity of the materials; so again in the interior (in plan a Latin cross) the Romanesque style is followed up to the vaulting of the side aisles, in contrast to the ogival arches which in the nave rise from the galleries to the higher central vault. The Palazzo del Comune (Fig. 442), founded in 1281, is no less beautiful than the cathedral. The lower storey consists of a marble portico of five pointed arches; the upper storey is of brick and is pierced by windows with three,

four, and even five lights, decorated with superb terra-cotta reliefs. The church of S. Francesco is of the same date; it is perhaps modelled upon the church of the same name at Bologna. The Gothic architecture of these buildings may, perhaps, show traces of a foreign influence, which made its way into Italy more especially with the Cistercians; but this influence is confined to certain constructive formulæ. In fact the Italian architecture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries shows features that have little in common with the essential tradition of the true Gothic style, namely, the proportions between width and height in the nave, a predilection for wide surfaces reserved for pictorial decoration, and the use of the simplest polygonal form of pilaster.

FIG. 445.—CATHEDRAL AND BAPTISTERY, PARMA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Thanks to a charming group of buildings, Castell' Arquato is a very oasis of mediæval architecture and well deserves the name of "the Emilian San Gimignano." Crowning the hill on which it stands, the Castle of the Visconti, the Palazzo Pubblico, the church (Fig. 443), and the Canons' residence are mirrored in the Arda, the beautiful river that, lower down, runs close to the Abbey of Chiaravalle della Colomba, founded about the year 1135 by Bernard de Fontaine; of this building the three-aisled church with its cross-vaulted roof and the magnificent fourteenth-century cloisters still exist.

FIG. 446.—BAPTISTERY, PARMA. (INTERIOR.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Again, on the Via Emilia, we find Borgo San Donnino, which boasts one of the most beautiful Romanesque cathedrals of the

district, a building begun about the year 1100, but carried on in a very leisurely fashion. The exterior of the apse with the open loggia and the unfinished facade adorned with sculptures attributed to Benedetto Antelami, are of great interest (Fig. 444).

FIG. 447.—CATHEDRAL AND GHIRLANDINA, MODENA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

At Parma, in addition to the magnificent cathedral (begun in 1058 and completed in the thirteenth century), with its vast cupola over the crossing of the nave and the transepts, and its portal by Giovanni Bono da Bissone, we have one of the largest and most beautiful baptisteries in Italy (Fig. 445). It was founded towards the end of the twelfth century; externally it is octagonal, while the interior has sixteen sides; both inside and out it is surrounded by open loggias (Fig. 446); it is richly adorned on the exterior by sculptures attributed to Antelami and the internal walls are covered with frescoes of the Romanesque period. The attribution of the sculptures both of the cathedral at Borgo San Donnino and of the Baptistery at Parma to Benedetto Antelami (see p. 234) is a matter of dispute at the present time. His *Descent from the Cross*, however, which once formed a part of a frieze in the cathedral at Parma and bears the date 1178, points to him as a man who was desirous of rising above the rude level of his day.

FIG. 448.—CATHEDRAL, MODENA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

At Reggio Emilia and at Bologna the lines of the Romanesque cathedrals are smothered by the later restorations and reconstructions, but at Modena the old building rises conspicuously in its original grandeur (Figs. 447, 448). It was begun by Lanfranco in

1099, consecrated in 1184, and completed at a later date. At the present day it is the most complete building of the period in Emilia. On the façade are sculptures by Wiligelmo (Fig. 439), who more than seventy years before the time of Antelami, eager to make an advance upon the past, attained to a certain decorative grandeur that places him on a higher level than Niccolò, his fellow-workman. Nor must we pass over the pride of the Modenese, the famous campanile of the cathedral, the Ghirlandina, built between 1224 and 1319 (Fig. 447).

FIG. 440.—CATHEDRAL, FERRARA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

The cathedral of Ferrara (Fig. 449), consecrated in 1135, must have been even more imposing, but the interior was only too effectually modernised in 1712. Among the earliest sculptors we again find a Niccolò and a Guglielmo or Wiligelmo, whom we must hold to be the same men as those who worked at Modena; and perhaps also in S. Silvestro at Nonantola, another notable Romanesque church. But, subsequently, the building at Ferrara went on slowly for centuries, so that it was not until the middle of the fourteenth century, at a time, that is to say, when the Gothic style had triumphed, that the façade was finally completed by craftsmen, among whom we may recognise the sculptor of the portal of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Ravenna (Fig. 450).

FIG. 450. DOOR OF S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA, RAVENNA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

The group of buildings that surround the church of S. Stefano at Bologna (Fig. 451) is more interesting than beautiful. We have here a crowd of churches, cloisters, and crypts, deficient in grandeur

and without sculptural decoration—buildings that have been erected, pulled down, rebuilt and tormented in every way. Nor do we find any important monuments of the Romanesque period in Romagna with the exception of the cathedral of S. Leo, which dates from 1173, and part of S. Mercuriale at Forlì (Fig. 452), which was rebuilt after a fire which took place in that same year; it was then adorned with a portal on which a Romanesque sculptor carved an Adoration of the Magi, of interest for the realistic and rather comical attitudes of some of the figures.

FIG. 451.—GROUP OF CHURCHES KNOWN AS S. STEFANO, BOLOGNA. (*Photo dell'Emilia.*)

At Bologna, however, more than anywhere else, the towers —there were once more than two hundred of them—are very singular. Their construction goes back to the communal period, that is to say, to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The thickness of the walls at the lower part is in some cases greater than the internal space. As these walls ascend they become thinner, being gradually reduced by several projections internally and by a single one on the outside, varying in form and height. The wall consists of two facings of very substantial brickwork, the one on the outside, the other within, between which an irregular mass of pebbles and lime has been beaten down. The base, which is almost always sloping, is faced with long slabs of alabaster from the adjacent Monte Donato. In addition to the narrow doorways with lintels of alabaster supported by two brackets, over which curves a blind arch (generally pointed), we invariably find on these towers another

FIG. 452.—S. MERCURIALE, FORLÌ (*Photo. Alinari.*)

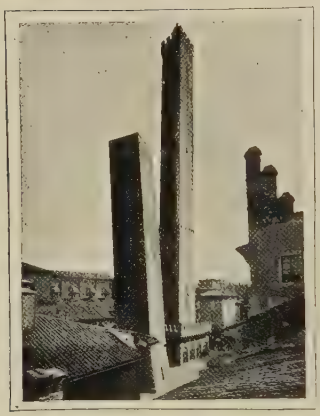

FIG. 453.—THE TWO TOWERS, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

opening at the height of ten or twelve metres, which no doubt communicated with the adjacent houses. Finally the windows, few in number, are narrow and round-headed (Fig. 453).

Bologna compensates for her actual poverty in Romanesque churches by the numerous imposing buildings in the Gothic style which were erected in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. With few exceptions—S. Domenico and S. Giacomo, for example, which have undergone changes, especially in the inside—these have preserved their original aspect. There are indeed many towns in Emilia possessing sacred and civil buildings where the Gothic style makes some show, whether triumphing completely or superadded to earlier buildings; but nowhere else but in Bologna can we find examples that illustrate the continuous and complete development of the style; from S. Francesco, a three-aisled church (Figs. 454 and 455), begun in 1236, under the manifest influence of French Gothic, to S. Martino, to S. Maria dei Servi —attributed to Andrea Manfredi —and finally to S. Petronio (Fig. 456), the famous work of Antonio di Vincenzo (1350?—1401?). Employed at first on various military works at the castles of Cento, of Pieve di Cento and others in the neighbourhood, and on the walls and the gates of Bologna, Vincenzo at length found full scope for his constructive abilities and for his taste as an artist in the erection of S. Petronio and of the Campanile of S. Francesco, one of the most beautiful towers in all Italy, an exquisitely proportioned

FIG. 454.—S. FRANCESCO, BOLOGNA. INTERIOR. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

structure covered with a graceful network of terra-cotta decoration (Fig. 455). We may also mention Fieravante Fieravanti, who rebuilt the Palazzo Pubblico (1425–1428, Fig. 460).

FIG. 455.—S. FRANCESCO, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

Sculpture in Bologna at this time was almost entirely a foreign importation. We find among the sculptors but few names of Bolognese artists; there were, however, some Tuscans, and many Venetians, among them the brothers Jacobello and Pier Paolo dalle Masegne (the authors of the great marble reredos in S. Francesco—1388–96, Fig. 459). The sculptors of the imposing and animated bas-reliefs on the first side windows of San Petronio were Venetians—Girolamo Barosso and Francesco Dardi.

But it was a Sienese sculptor, Jacopo della Quercia, who was destined to bring the light and the warmth of the Renaissance into Bologna. Jacopo was summoned to the city in 1425 by the Archbishop D'Arles and entrusted with the decoration of the central door of S. Petronio (Fig. 457). Already famous for the Fonte Gaia at Siena, he carved in the arch of this doorway thirty-two half figures of Patriarchs and of Prophets with God the Father in the centre, and fifteen subjects from the Old and the New Testament upon the pilasters and upon the architrave, which he crowned with a superb figure of the Virgin and Child (Fig. 458). This vast undertaking —left unfinished by Jacopo amidst endless disputes with the churchwardens, and repeated interruptions and renewals of work on his part—remains the most

FIG. 456.—S. PETRONIO, BOLOGNA. INTERIOR. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

exquisite work of sculpture in Bologna, admirable both for its architectural proportions and for the novel energy with which the reliefs are conceived and carried out. It excited the admiration of Michelangelo when, still a youth, he came to Bologna to carve some of the statues for the shrine of S. Dominic and when, again, at a later date, he modelled, cast, and placed above Jacopo's porch the statue of Julius II. The impressions received on these occasions were not rapidly effaced; proof of this may be found in some of the compositions and figures in the Sistine Chapel.

FIG. 457.—S. PETRONIO, BOLOGNA. THE GREAT DOOR. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 458.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (JACOPO DELLA QUERCIA.) S. Petronio, Bologna. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

ristauro del duomo di Piacenza, Piacenza, 1906; L. Cerri, *La cattedrale di Piacenza prima e dopo i ristauri*, in *Arch. Stor. per le prov. parmensi*, ix, 1909; G. B. Toschi, *Le sculture di Benedetto Antelami a Borgo S. Donnino* in *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, i, 1888; Lopez, *Cenni intorno alla vita e alle opere di Benedetto Antelami* in *Vendemmiatore*, Parma, 1846; M. G. Zimmermann, *Oberitalienische Plastik im frühen und Hohen Mittelalter*, Leipsic, 1897; Odorici, *La Cattedrale di Parma*, Milan, 1864; Lopez, *Il battistero di Parma*; Andrea Balletti, *Madonne scolpite nel Reggiano* in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1909; Bortolotti, *Monumenti di Storia patria delle provincie modenesi*, Modena, 1886; *Guida dell'Apennino modenese*, Rocca S. Casciano, 1895; A. Brian, *Apennino Parmense*, Parma, 1903; Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Mittelalter*, iv, Düsseldorf, 1871; A. Manzini, *La Pieve da Trebbio*, Modena, 1907; Borghi, *Il duomo, ossia cenni storici e descrittivi della cattedrale di Modena*, Modena, 1845; G. Messori-Roncaglia, *Cattedrale di Modena*, Modena, 1878; Dondi, *Notizie storiche e artistiche del duomo di Modena*, Modena, 1896; G. Cappello, *Il duomo di Modena* in *Emporium*, ix, 1899; G. Ognibene, *Il duomo e la torre di Modena*, Modena, 1906; W. Forster, *Zur Litteraturgeschichte. Ein neues Artusdokument* in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xxii, 2, 243–48; M. Reymond, *L'autel majeur du Dôme de Modène*, Paris, 1902; B. Colfi, *Di una recente interpretazione data alle sculture dell'archivolto nella porta settentrionale del duomo di Modena* in *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie modenesi*, series iv, volume x, 1899; G. Agnelli, *La porta maggiore della cattedrale di Ferrara* in *Emporium*, 1906; G. Agnelli, *Le Porte di Ferrara*, Bergamo, 1909; Tiraboschi, *Storia dell'augusta abbazia di S. Silvestro a Nonantola*, Modena, 1784; L. Montagnani, *Storia dell'augusta badia di S. Silvestro di Nonantola*, Modena, 1838; C. Cesari, *Saggio storico artistico. Nonantola*, Modena, 1901; F. Franciosi, *La segra di Carpi*, Carpi, 1877; A. Venturi, *Lo scultore romanico del S. Mercuriale di Forlì* in *L'Arte*, 1898; G. Guidicini, *Cose notabili di Bologna*, Bologna, 1868-73, with *Supplement* by Luigi Breventani, Bologna, 1908; *L'Appennino bolognese*, Bologna, 1881; I. B. Supino, *Architettura a Bologna nei secoli XIII e XIV*, Bologna, 1909; A. Rubbiani, *Il palazzo di re Enzo in Bologna*, Bologna, 1906; A. Rubbiani, *Il palazzo dei Notari in Bologna*, Milan, 1907; C. Ricci, *Monumenti sepolcrali di lettori dello Studio bolognese*, Bologna, 1888; A. Rubbiani, *La chiesa di S. Francesco a Bologna*, Bologna, 1886; A. Costa, *Descrizione della chiesa parrocchiale di San Martino Maggiore e luoghi annessi*, Bologna, 1879; E. Orioli, *Il Foro dei Mercanti in Bologna* in *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, v, 1892; A. Rubbiani and A. Tartarini, *I restauri alla Mercanzia*, Bologna, 1889; F. Malaguzzi, *La chiesa e il portico di S. Giacomo in Bologna* in *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, vii, 1894; A. Rubbiani, *S. Giacomo degli Eremitani in Bologna* in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1909; A. Bacchi della Lega, *Bibliografia Petroniana* in *Atti e Mem. della R. Dep. di S. P. per le provincie di Romagna*, iii series, n. ix; A. Gatti, *La fabbrica di S. Petronio*, Bologna, 1889, and *Maestro Antonio di Vincenzo* in *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*,

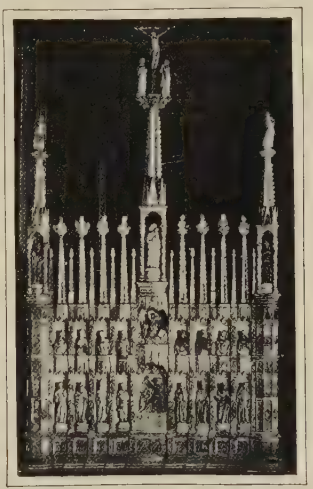

FIG. 459.—REREDOS OF THE HIGH ALTAR, S. FRANCESCO, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 460.—COURT OF THE PALAZZO MUNICIPALE BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

iv Rome, 1891; E. Bottrigari-Manzini, *Cenni storici sopra le antiche e sull'odierna Cattedrale di Bologna*, Modena, 1877; A. Stix, *Die monumentale Plastik der Pragen Dombauhütte um die Wende des XIV und XV Jahrhunderts* in *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch*, 1908; Davia, *Le scolture delle porte della basilica di S. Petronio in Bologna*, Bologna, 1833; J. Cornelius, *Jacopo della Quercia*, Halle, 1896; C. Ricci, *Fieravante Fieravanti e l'architettura bolognese nella prima metà del sec. XV* in *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, iv, 1891; C. Ricci, *Giovanni da Siena*, ibid., v, 1892.

FIG. 461.—ADAM AND EVE. (P. CLEMENTI.)
Cathedral, Reggio Emilia. (*Photo. Fantuzzi.*)

CHAPTER XXI

EMILIA

ARCHITECTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE. SCULPTURE UP TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Minor Centres of Culture in the Renaissance Period.—Rimini and the Malatesta.—Forlì and Caterina Sforza.—Faenza.—Imola.—The Lombardi at Ravenna.—Ferrara under Leonello d'Este and his Successors.—The Architectural Character of Bologna.—The Bentivoglio Family.—Sculpture in Emilia.—Niccolò dall'Arca.—Terracottists in Modena and Bologna.—Clementi.

THE springtime of the Renaissance passed over the Emilian province, causing it to blossom more or less even in its most remote districts. There is not a city, a town, or a castle which does not treasure some evidence of this fertilising grace. Ten volumes of the size of this one would not suffice to record and describe in detail all the marvellous works of art to be found there.

We have already pointed out that no other region of Italy can make boast of having had so many independent Courts as were to be found in Emilia, and although those of the Este family and of the Bentivogli became in time predominant, the lesser Courts were yet able to maintain their glorious position as fervid supporters of learning and of art.

On the hill behind Reggio stands the Castle of Scandiano, stored with memories of the fantastic visions, not of painters, but of Matteo Maria Boiardo, the author of *Orlando Innamorato*; and close at hand lies the walled town of Castelvetro, where the Rangoni built their palaces. Here is the castle of Mirandola, where Giovanni Pico applied his prodigious learning to the discussion of so

many arduous theses, and to the refutation of old and ferocious superstitions; and here, too, rises the imposing mass of the castle of Carpi (Fig. 462), the decoration of which Alberto Pio entrusted to Giovanni del Sega, a painter of Forlì (at work 1506-1527), and to Bernardino Loschi, while in the city below, embellished by him and surrounded by walls, he built the church of S. Niccolò after the designs of Baldassarre Peruzzi; here, too, is Correggio, with its beautiful palace, adorned for Francesca of Brandenburg with loggias and with a network of marble, and thus made a fit home for the charm of Veronica Gambara; and Novellara with the castle where Francesco Gonzaga and Costanza Strozzi devoted themselves jointly to the protection of art and to works of piety. Near at hand is Guastalla, where Achille Torelli found a sedative for his fantastic and violent spirit in planning and discussing the erection of his palace. Then we have the superb mass of Montechiarugolo, the home in her joyous youth of the Barbara Torelli immortalised by Ariosto; Cortemaggiore, enlarged by Gian Lodovico Pallavicino, and adorned with a castle and with the two splendid churches of S. Maria della Natività and S. Maria delle Grazie, churches which were completed by his son Orlando, who summoned Pordenone to decorate them with frescoes; the castles of Torchiara (Fig. 463) and of Roccabianca, distinguished by their noble architecture, and by the frescoes executed by painters of Cremona, who, commissioned by

FIG. 462.—CASTLE OF THE PIO FAMILY, CARPI.
(*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

FIG. 463.—CASTLE OF TORCHIARA.
(*Photo. Cassarini.*)

Pier Maria Rossi, covered the walls with love scenes full of allusions to his lady, Bianca Pellegrini, and with episodes from Boccaccio's tale of the gentle Griselda; the castle of S. Secondo, also belonging to Rossi, which was enlarged by Troilo, the castle of Fontanellato, where the Sanvitali gave shelter to Parmigianino, who painted there the story of Diana and Actæon; and finally Busseto, for ages faithful to the Pallavicini, who built there the castle and the walls —now in ruins—as well as some notable churches.

These—passing over many others—were the lesser centres of the Emilian province, where the Renaissance found its most zealous supporters. Wandering among these memorable places now one is overcome by melancholy, so silent and deserted are the streets; and all that remains of the departed glory is the architecture.

FIG. 464.—PALAZZO DEL PODESTÀ, FORLÌ. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

From the first awakening of the Italian spirit the temperament of the Emilians was cheerful and merry. Even amid the restraints of mediæval superstition Fra' Salimbene fills his Chronicle with witty sayings and Benvenuto Rambaldi enlivens his commentary on the *Divina Commedia* with amusing anecdotes. Later Emilia became the birthplace of the *Orlando Innamorato*, of the *Orlando Furioso*, of the *Secchia Rapita* and of the joyous art of Correggio.

In Romagna, on the other hand, at the time of the Renaissance above all, we find no trace of this happy spirit. It is a land to which the warning of Dante is still applicable:—

> "Romagna tua non è e non fu mai,
> Senza guerra ne' cuor de' suoi tiranni."

Nevertheless, art was not neglected, and it was here towards the middle of the fifteenth century that the first great work inspired by the new canons appeared—a work in which Leon Battista Alberti did not confine himself to the reproduction of detail taken from classical buildings, but attempted and indeed succeeded in giving a synthetic impression of the architectural sentiment of classical times

(Fig. 465). The enlargement of the church of S. Francesco at Rimini—a work in which Matteo Pasti, the Veronese medallist, and Matteo Nuti of Nocera also collaborated—was the result of an energy characteristic of the time, an energy that became a consuming ardour in the souls of Alberti and of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta. Alberti, an artist, sought to express in this building the charm exercised by art; Sigismondo, a lover, the fire of love; both of these learned and ambitious men were governed by the supreme ideal of classical culture and of humanism. The humble Gothic church of the Franciscan friars was encircled with arches and sepulchral monuments, but the arches followed on the lines of those built of old to commemorate Roman triumphs, and the tombs were destined to hold the mortal remains of the poets and the philosophers who had shed lustre on the court of the Malatesta. Agostino di Duccio decorated it with a series of exquisite figures swathed in elaborate drapery, and nude *putti* bounding along in an ecstatic dance.

FIG. 465.—CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO, RIMINI. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

At the time when the "Tempio Malatestiano" at Rimini was being adorned in this fashion, Domenico Malatesta Novello, as Nuti has recorded, was building a superb palace and a magnificent library at Cesena.

FIG. 466.—PALACE OF THE SFORZA, IMOLA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

At Forlì, again, even amid the tumults and tragedies of the successive ruling families—the Ordelaffi, the Chiesa, the Riario—and of Cesare Borgia, the desire to embellish the city was no less

intense. The proud and ruthless Caterina Sforza had recourse to all the seductions of art to make her castle a nest of delights for Giovanni de' Medici. Other relics of the Renaissance are the Palazzo del Podestà (Fig. 464), built in 1459 by Matteo di Riceputo, and part of the church of S. Biagio, adorned with frescoes by Palmezzano and with sculpture by Francesco di Simone of Fiesole; many more would have survived had not the men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries insisted on transforming everything to suit the taste of the day. Remarkable examples of the Florentine style may be found in the cathedral of Faenza, begun in 1474 by Giuliano da Maiano, and in the Palazzo Sforza at Imola (Fig. 466); other buildings are of a Bramantesque type, such as the tribune of Julius II.; or in the Bolognese style, such as the Palazzo Sersanti where the introduction of the portico and the abundant use of ornamental terra-cotta reveals its origin. It was from Venice that the spirit of the Renaissance reached Ravenna, a town at the time subject to her rule. Pietro Lombardi, who was at work there with his sons, erected the columns of the Piazza and built the tomb of Dante (1483). He may also have designed the cloisters and the Loggia del Giardino (Fig. 467) at S. Maria in Porto (1502–1518). Later, his son Tullio carved the statue of Guidarello Guidarelli, a work remarkable for the poignant melancholy of the face (1525), and still later (1562) Andrea da Valle, who built the court of the University at Padua (see above, p. 104), constructed the cloister of the monastery of S. Vitale, with its twin columns.

FIG. 467.—LOGGIA OF THE GIARDINO DEI PORTUENSI RAVENNA. (*Photo. Ranieri.*)

The Renaissance flourished at Ferrara with a vigour of a totally different kind. Here its moving spirits were Leonello d'Este, a man of fine temper, "trained in the discipline of beauty," and Borso, a greater than he, who succeeded him in 1450. At that time some painters of distinction were at work in the city, as well as a crowd of artists occupied with the minor acts—tapestry weavers and embroiderers who came from Flanders and from France,

goldsmiths, for the most part Lombards, medallists, woodcarvers, etc. It is to Borso that we owe the great Certosa and the completion of that marvel of graceful beauty, the Schifanoja Palace (1466-1469).

FIG. 468.—PALACE OF THE DIAMANTI, FERRARA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

It was built by Pietro Benvenuti, and the painters of Ferrara, above all Francesco del Cossa, competed for the honour of decorating it.

Ercole I. (1471–1505), finding the city cramped and crowded, enlarged it by laying out those wide, straight streets, to which it owes its claim to be the first, chronologically, of the modern cities of Europe. This extensive undertaking was carried out by Biagio Rossetti; to him Ferrara is indebted, among other buildings, for the Palazzo dei Diamanti (Fig. 468)—where he had the assistance of the sculptor Gabriele Frisoni of Mantua—and for the palace of Lodovico il Moro which, in spite of neglect and poverty, still preserves its noble aspect, for, as the poet says, " non copre abito vil la nobil luce " (" vile vesture cannot hide the noble light ").

FIG. 469.—DOORWAY OF PALAZZO SACRATI, FERRARA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

It is not known who were the authors of the Palazzo Sacrati (now Prosperi) and of its beautiful gateway, that admirable example of architectural proportion and of graceful decoration (Fig. 469); nor again of the Palazzo Rovarella, so remarkable for its ample decoration of warm terra-cotta. We know, however, that the above-mentioned Benvenuti was responsible for the staircase of the Palazzo Civico, and Anton Francesco Sardi for the adjacent loggia (1503).

It was amid conspiracies, famines, pestilences, fires, and inundations that this brilliant artistic life was maintained by Ercole I. If it suffered from the fury of war in the days of Alfonso I. and of Lucrezia Borgia, it was by no means quenched, for it was at this time that the huge castle—built as far back as 1385 by Bartolino Ploti of Novara — received fresh embellishments (Fig. 470) and that the Castel Tedaldo, sung by Ariosto and destroyed by Clement VIII., was erected.

FIG. 470.—CASTLE, FERRARA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

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The heavy falls of snow, to which Bologna, built upon the northern slope of the hills and facing the wide valley of the Po, is subject, were the origin of a remarkable architectural feature. All, or nearly all, its streets are flanked by arcades which were already fully developed—of this we have proof in the Casa Isolani (Fig. 471), the Casa Grassi, and other buildings—in the thirteenth century. Supported at the beginning by wooden columns resting on bases of alabaster, for the most part they served as a shelter to one storey of the house and as a support to that above. With the increase of well-being and with the advance of art these arcades gradually assumed more imposing and more beautiful forms. The columns of wood were replaced by others of sandstone or of brick; they were now surmounted by elaborately carved capitals of marble, and a luxuriant decoration of terra-cotta was carried along the cornices and around the arches and the windows. And this wealth of columns and vaults and arches, sometimes in alignment on either side of the streets, like the aisles of a basilica, at others curving like an avenue of trees along the banks of a canal, in one place dark in contrast to the sunny piazza, or standing out sun-illumined in contrast to a dark winding lane, produces a flow and a contrast of lines, and a play of light which must have proved no small incentive to the great perspective and scenographic school of Bologna, which, starting from Sebastiano Serlio, theoretical writer and practical architect, flourished there for more than three centuries.

The first period of the Renaissance at Bologna is contemporaneous with the rule of Sante and of Giovanni II. Bentivoglio, which lasted from 1455 to 1506, and it may be affirmed without exaggeration that at least a hundred buildings, dating from that time, both great and small and of various merit, still survive in Bologna. The one palace, however, that might have served as a measure of the splendour of the Court in those days, a palace of which it has been said that it was " the most beautiful civil edifice in Italy," was destroyed on the occasion of a popular outburst that was secretly instigated by Julius II. The architectural lines of this building, the work of Lapo Portigiani of Fiesole, who built the still surviving Palazzo Isolani (1451–1455), served as a model for many buildings erected at that time in Bologna ; among others, for the interior of the palace that has been known successively by the names of Sanuti, Bentivoglio, and Bevilacqua ; among a crowd of Bolognese and Tuscan artists at work here, the most important were Marsilio Infrangipani of Altomena (Pontassieve) and Tommaso Filippi of Varignana, who also worked together elsewhere. The sculpture on the façade, however (Fig. 472), is assigned to Francesco di Simone Ferrucci of Fiesole, the author of the tomb of Tartagni in S. Domenico and of many other works in Romagna. Foreign artists abounded in Bologna, as in every important Italian city. In addition to those already mentioned we find Sperandio of Mantua, who designed the top of the campanile of S. Petronio and modelled the decorative parts of the tomb of Alexander V. and perhaps those on the façade of the church of Corpus Domini (Fig. 474) (if these, like the work in the Palazzo del Podestà, were not rather due to Infrangipani and his assistants), and again, Francesco de Dozza, who, in addition to his work on the walls of the Palazzo del Podestà (Fig. 473), designed the campanile of S. Petronio. But side by side with the work of these foreigners proceeded that of the Bolognese builders and architects formed in the school of Lorenzo di Bagnomarino, of Antonio di Vincenzo, and of Fieravante Fieravanti ; for example,

FIG. 471.—CASA ISOLANI, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

the son of the last, that Ridolfo known as Aristotile, a man of exceptional abilities, an artist and engineer, both hydraulic and mechanical, who awaits a special monograph to reveal him in his universality. Aristotile in fact, with Bertola da Novate, Aguzio of Cremona, and others, contributed to the progress of hydraulic science, thanks to discoveries the credit for which is usually given to Leonardo. At Venice he restored a campanile to the perpendicular; another, at Bologna, he moved to a distance of thirty-five feet; he erected castles and houses, and finally worked in the Kremlin at Moscow, where he died at the age of seventy in 1486. There was one artist, however, who takes a commanding position among his contemporaries. Andrea Marchesi (at work 1515–1530), known, from the place of his birth, as Formigine, was the head of a family of artists and of a large *bottega;* from this workshop came graceful carvings, not only in marble, but in wood also, and among them those frames which we often find surrounding the pictures of Francia and his followers. In addition to his charming works of ornamental sculpture, he gave proof of originality and strength as an architect in the portico of S. Bartolomeo (1515), in the Palazzo Fantuzzi (1517–1522), and in the Palazzo Malvezzi-Campeggi, which was completed by his son about the middle of the sixteenth century.

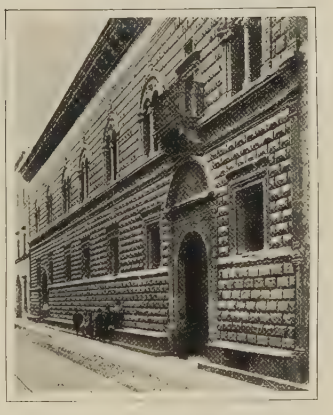

FIG. 472.—PALAZZO BEVILACQUA BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

If, in the province of Emilia, there is no other city that can rival Bologna in the number of Renaissance buildings, yet in every one, it may be safely asserted, conspicuous examples may be found. Of Ferrara and of some other less important towns I have already spoken. In Modena we find the church of S. Pietro, rebuilt in 1476 by Pietro Barabani of Carpi; at Reggio, the Casa dei Manfredi (now belonging to the Rocca-Saporiti), built perhaps by Bartolomeo Spani; at Parma, those marvels of combined strength and elegance, the churches of S. Giovanni Evangelista (1510, Fig. 477), and the Madonna della Steccata (1521, Fig. 476), both the work of Bernadino Zaccagni of Torchiara; at Piacenza,

finally, the no less splendid churches of S. Sisto (1499–1511, Fig. 478) and of S. Maria di Campagna (1522, Fig. 479), built by Alessio Tramello, an architect who followed in the footsteps of Bramante.

FIG. 473.—PALAZZO DEL PODESTÀ, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Thus we see that in Emilia, during this happy period, every centre of importance could boast native architects worthy of a fame that so far has been denied them. The same cannot be said of the sculptors, for we have now proof that the greater number of works in this branch of art are due to foreigners. At Bologna and at Ravenna we have already seen Venetian sculptors at work, and the Lombards and Tuscans we find everywhere. We have already mentioned a few: limiting ourselves to the more important attributions, we may here add that Andrea da Fiesole and Jacopo Lanfrani have left us various examples of their skill in Bologna; that Niccolò Baroncelli, Domenico di Paris, Antonio Rossellino, and Ambrogio da Milano worked at Ferrara; Benedetto da Maiano at Faenza (here, however, we find in Pietro Barilotto—fl. 1528–1552—a clever native sculptor); Gian Francesco d'Agrate at Parma; the brothers Gazzaniga at Borgo S. Donnino. At a later date we find Leone Leoni at Guastalla and Francesco Mochi at Piacenza, with a troop of assistants. At Bologna, Michelangelo, Gabriele and Zaccaria Zacchi of Volterra, Giovan Angiolo Montorsoli, and Giambologna were all at work; but the man who sojourned there for a longer time and exercised a greater

FIG. 474.—DOORWAY OF CORPUS DOMINI, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

influence than any of these was Niccolò Pericoli, known as Tribolo (1485–1550). Niccolò dall'Arca, again, was not of Emilian birth—he was a Slavonian—but seeing that he passed nearly the whole of his life in the province, we may regard him as a native artist, and if in his work we find evidence of exotic influences, we can see that, none the less, he owed much to works of art already existing in Bologna, as well as to those two vigorous Ferrarese painters, Cosmè Tura and Francesco del Cossa. The more decorative parts of the pictures by Cosmè in the Berlin Museum, as well as those of the fresco by Cossa in the Baraccano church at Bologna, the wide and deep folds of the drapery in the tempera painting by the same Cossa in the Bologna Gallery, show marked and unmistakable affinities with the sculpture of Niccolò, who, for that matter, was a younger man, and, working as he did at Bologna during the same years as the Ferrarese painters, was not likely to escape the influence of their vigorous style, which must inevitably have appealed to him. However that may be, Niccolò, bold to the verge of violence in the expressions and in the gestures of his "Maries" wailing and contorting themselves around the dead Christ (1463)—imitating in this the gestures of the hired mourners of the contemporary funerals, whose excesses had to be restrained by legal enactments (Fig. 480)—was solemn and restrained in the Madonna in the Palazzo Pubblico (1478, Fig. 481), and in the canopy of the shrine of S.

FIG. 475.—PALAZZO FAVA, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 476.—MADONNA DELLA STECCATA, PARMA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Dominic (1469–1473, Fig. 483) he achieved an exceptional grace. These and other works he completed before his death in 1494; but in spite of labours so successful Niccolò died in poverty.

FIG. 477.—S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA, PARMA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Niccolò's so-called "Della Vita" Maries are, if we are not mistaken, the earliest life-sized terra-cotta figures, executed in the round, to be found in Emilia. On Jacopo della Quercia's tomb of the Vari family, there are indeed bas-reliefs and small symbolical statues, but this work found no imitators. Sperandio's tomb of Alexander V. is later by some twenty years. Hence there can be no doubt that it was at Bologna, in the school of Niccolò, rather than in his native town, in that of Galeotto Pavesi, that the gifted Guido Mazzoni of Modena (who was already at work in 1470), known as Modanino, and also as Paganino, learned his art. From Modena Guido passed on to Busseto, to Reggio, to Cremona, to Venice, to Naples, and to Tours, whence, in 1507, he made his way back to his native town. He returned later to France, in the service of Louis XII., and on the death of that king in 1515, he again took up his abode in Modena, and there he died three years later, an old man, respected and wealthy. Works by him are to be found in many of the above-mentioned towns. But the most beautiful, perhaps, and certainly the most characteristic, are those he executed for his native city, more especially the *Pietà* in S. Giovanni (Fig. 482) and the *Nativity* in

FIG. 478. S. SISTO, PIACENZA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

the cathedral, works whose only fault lies in the composition. It may be said that actual truth of life has never been more vividly seized and more exactly rendered than in these works. Less lofty in his aim, less synthetic than Niccolò,—indeed, like his contemporary, Tilmann Riemenschneider, crudely analytic in spirit,—Guido does not spare us a single wrinkle, a hair, a fold of drapery, or a grimace. Yet all is rendered without losing sight of the general expression of the figure, which he attains without any of the violence of his master.

FIG. 479.—MADONNA DI CAMPAGNA, PIACENZA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Meanwhile, by his side, a numerous and successful school of *terracottists* grew up in Modena. Andrea, Camillo, and Paolo Bisogni have been much admired for their ornamental work. But Antonio Begarelli (1498–1565) is on a much higher level, thanks to his charming figures, often picturesquely arranged in groups, and so sweet in expression that they look like works by Correggio translated into terra-cotta. There can be no doubt that Begarelli came into contact with the great master at Parma, where we may see some graceful statues by him in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista.

FIG. 480.—PIETÀ. (NICCOLÒ DALL'ARCA.) Church della Vita, Bologna. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

When will someone write the history of the *terracottists* of Modena? They were at work for a longer period and with greater success than is generally believed. In 1573 the monks of S. Vitale at Ravenna placed an order at Modena for a series of cherubs in terra-cotta for the decoration of an entablature,

a circumstance that raises a doubt whether some of the decorative terra-cotta found in various places in Emilia, and generally held to be of Bolognese origin, may not really have come from Modena. In any case it was Bologna that produced what is perhaps the richest series in this art, and one good reason for this may be found in the fact that this hard material successfully resists the action of the severe frosts that soon destroy any external decoration carved in the soft and friable local sandstone.

FIG. 481.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (N. DALL'ARCA.)
Palazzo Comunale, Bologna.
(*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

The guilds of the Bolognese masters owned extensive kilns in which decorative bricks, shaped in moulds of wood, or sometimes of metal, were fired (Fig. 484). Entablatures and other decorations were then constructed by disposing these bricks in various fashions and thus obtaining various effects. The earliest *cotti* made their appearance in the thirteenth century, the latest in the sixteenth. The men of the Baroque period thought them too common, and they had to make way for the foliage and the little plump Cupids of plaster-of-Paris or of stucco, now to a large extent cracked and broken, while the terra-cotta work has suffered less than marble itself during all these centuries.

Following the example of Niccolò dall'Arca and of Mazzoni, Vincenzo Onofrio and Alfonso Lombardi (1497–1537), whose real name was Cittadella, modelled in clay and sent to the kilns reliefs and statues of large dimensions. In the case of the statues of the latter artist the main conception is a pictorial and naturalistic one, but in sculptured groups he aimed at a more satisfactory effect by a more closely knit structure and by a better idealisation of the individual figures. Among the most admired

FIG. 482.—PIETÀ. (GUIDO MAZZONI.)
Church of S. Giovanni, Modena. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

of his works may be classed the reliefs upon the plinth of the shrine of S. Dominic, the group of the *Death of the Virgin* in the Della Vita Oratory, and the *Resurrection of Christ* in the lunette over one of the lesser doors of S. Petronio (Fig. 486). Now it is a fact that must not be overlooked that it was to take a part in these works that Tribolo came to Bologna from Florence. It was he who brought to the former town the "Roman" style, touched by the influence of the work of the Sansovini, and by that of Michelangelo.

At Reggio we find that vigorous and prolific artist, Bartolomeo Spani (1467–1540?), of whom we have already spoken, hesitating between the claims of the old and the new art. His nephew Prospero, known as Clementi, who died at a great age in 1584, following with tempered energy in the wake of Michelangelo, made a name for himself, justified by such works, among others, as the Adam and Eve (Fig. 461) on the façade of the cathedral of Reggio which was begun by him, the Fossa tomb in the same church, and the shrine and the statue of S. Bernardo degli Uberti in the crypt of the cathedral at Parma.

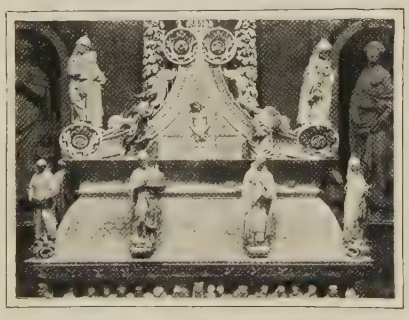

FIG. 483.—TOMB OF S. DOMINIC, BOLOGNA.
(*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

Clementi may be accepted as the last of the great sculptors of Emilia, unless we are prepared to give that position to the Bolognese Alessandro Algardi (1592–1654), whose work is to be found not so much in his native country as in Rome; there, in S. Peter's, we may see his much-praised tomb of Leo XI. (Fig. 485), and in the Palazzo dei Conservatori his statue of Innocent X., which vies in energy and majesty with that of Urban VIII. by Bernini, which stands opposite to it. His façade to the church of S. Ignazio is one of the most imposing in Rome, being free from the extravagance rife at the time in such works.

After this time the art of the sculptor fell into the most complete mannerism, and the artists of the day contented themselves with turning out to order figures and decorations of marble for the tombs and façades of churches, and stucco-work for interiors.

In the other cities of Emilia we hear of few sculptors at this time, although the art was not extinct. About the middle of the sixteenth century Ferrara was the scene of the activity of Lodovico Ranzi, who was subsequently engaged upon the Palazzo Pubblico at Brescia, while Andrea Ferrari (1673–1744) found abundant occupation there towards the end of the succeeding century; he worked in marble, in stucco, and in terra-cotta, showing himself a cold and mannered, but quiet and refined artist. *Clever* decorative sculptors abounded at this time in greater numbers than ever, and at Parma the French sculptor, G. B. Boudard, was supreme.

FIG. 484.—TERRA-COTTAS.
Museo Civico, Bologna.
(*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

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FIG. 485.—MONUMENT TO LEO XI. (AL. ALGARDI.)
S. Peter's, Rome. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 486.—RESURRECTION OF CHRIST. (ALFONSO LOMBARDI.)
S. Petronio, Bologna. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

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FIG. 487.—DUCAL PALACE, NOW THE MILITARY SCHOOL, MODENA. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER XXII

EMILIA

ARCHITECTURE FROM THE TIME OF VIGNOLA TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Jacopo Vignola and Sebastiano Serlio.—The Tibaldi or Pellegrini Family.—The Bibiena Family.—The Scenographic School of Bologna.—Architecture at Modena and Reggio Emilia.—G. B. Aleotti.—E. Petitot at Parma.—Architects of Romagna.—The Neo-classic Movement.—Giov. Franc. Bonamici and Luca Danesi.

IN the domain of architecture, from about the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, Emilia takes a more important position, and this was more especially due to a man of genius who was born in the heart of the country—Jacopo Barozzi (1507–1573), known as Vignola, from the place of his birth in the territory of Modena. His canon of the "five orders," together with the books on architecture by the Bolognese Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1552, Fig. 488), were the manuals, we might almost say the codes, whence the architects of all Europe derived their theoretical knowledge. But Vignola, although, like all his contemporaries, he regarded the writings of the classic Vitruvius with the greatest reverence, was anything but a dry and methodical "Vitruvian."

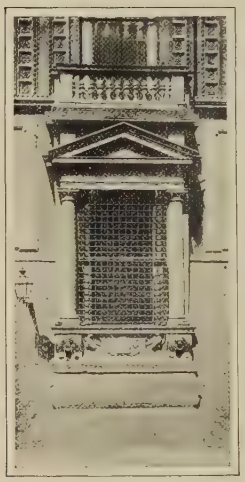

FIG. 488.—WINDOW OF THE PALAZZO COMUNALE, BOLOGNA.
(*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

In his works he showed himself a versatile artist, gifted with a vigorous imagination, one who succeeded in freeing himself from the Michelangelesque tradition, and in producing works of original inspiration. At first he applied himself to painting at Bologna, but seeing that he derived little profit from this art, "he turned his whole attention"—so Ignatio Danti tells us—"to the study of architecture and of perspective," and in these departments he before long manifested all the brilliancy of his genius. Thence he passed on to Rome, to trace the canons of Vitruvius in the monuments of antiquity, and after that to France, together with Primaticcio, who was indebted to him for the perspective drawings which he turned to account in his paintings at Fontainebleau. Later on he returned to Bologna, as architect to the church of S. Petronio, being charged with the preparation of a design for the façade. But he was not prepared to waste his time in sterile contentions with malignant opponents, although he had the support of Giulio Romano and of Cristoforo Lombardo. So, meantime, "he proceeded with incredible labour with the construction of the ship canal at Bologna"; he also built the imposing Palazzo Bocchi (1545) in the same city, and the tower of the Palazzo Isolani at Minerbio. After this he returned to Rome at the summons of Pope Julius III, for whom he built the charming suburban villa known to this day as the Villa Giulia. After the death of this Pope he entered the service of Cardinal Farnese, for whom he designed two buildings that have

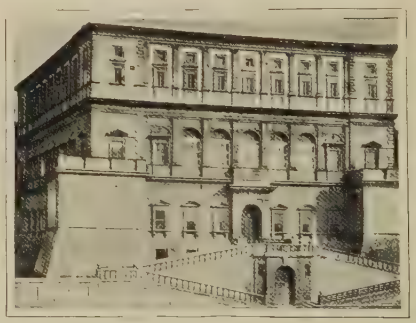

FIG. 489.—PALAZZO FARNESE, CAPRAROLA.
(*Photo. Moscioni.*)

become famous—the gigantic and magnificent palace at Caprarola (Fig. 489), and the church of the Gesù. With this Caprarola palace and its colossal unfinished pendant at Piacenza, Vignola created a type of building which has been nearly always adopted by the Farnese family—hence the term Farnesian.

During the remainder of the sixteenth century and throughout the two following centuries a succession of architects flourished in Emilia, who, if none of them rose to the level of Vignola, have adorned the land with many notable buildings. At Bologna we find first Antonio Morandi, known as Terribilia (d. 1568), the architect of the Archiginnasio, and of the Marconi (formerly Orsi) and Marescotti Palaces; then his nephew Francesco (d. 1603), who designed the graceful cistern formerly in the Semplici garden (Fig. 490), but now preserved in the Accademia di Belle Arti; Bartolomeo Triachini, who designed the austere court of the Palazzo Celési, now the University (Fig. 491), and also the frowning Palazzo Malvezzi-Medici. The earliest member of the Tibaldi or Pellegrini family of artists is Tibaldo, who built the convent of S. Gregorio. His son Pellegrino (1527–1597), of whom we have already spoken at some length on page 165, and to whom, as a painter, we shall have to return later on, did not work much in Bologna as an architect, but the imposing façade of the above mentioned Palazzo Celési would suffice to establish his reputation in this branch; here the classical forms are

FIG. 490.—CISTERN ACCADEMIA, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

FIG. 491.—COURT OF THE UNIVERSITY, BOLOGNA. (*Photo dell'Emilia.*)

FIG. 492.—S. MARIA DELLA VITA, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

interpreted with a masterly liberty, perhaps due to his painter's point of view. His brother Domenico erected many more buildings, perhaps of equal grandeur, but certainly not in such good taste; we have evidence of this in the Palazzo Malvezzi-Campeggi (formerly Magnani), which has a cramped look with its heavy mouldings, to say nothing of the portico of the *Gabella*, and the palace of the Archbishop, buildings simple in outline, but rather ponderous.

In the seventeenth century the skill and activity of the Bolognese architects appear to slacken to some extent. Nevertheless, such notable architects flourished as Bartolomeo Provaglia (d. 1672), to whom we owe the vigorously conceived Porta Galliera and the Palazzo Davia-Bargellini (Fig. 493), and the Padre G. B. Bergonzoni (1628–1692), the builder of S. Maria della Vita (Fig. 492); to this church a cupola was added a century later by that Giuseppe Tubertini who, in the hall for the Giuoco del Pallone (1822), gave a touch of classic feeling to his design, in perfect harmony with the athletic exercise for which the building was destined.

FIG. 493.—PALAZZO DAVIA-BARGELLINI, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

It was in the seventeenth century also that the long series of the Bibiena family started in Bologna: they were builders of palaces and churches, but more notably designers of theatres and of theatrical decoration; as such they were very famous and in request at all the courts of Europe. It was with them that the scenographic school of Bologna attained to its greatest splendour, a school that began with Serlio and ended with Francesco Cocchi

(1788–1865), Valentino Solmi (1810–1866), and Domenico Ferri (1808–1865); the last of these went to Paris about the year 1850, and played an important part in the revival of French scenography.

FIG. 494.—THEATRICAL SCENE. (G. BIBIENA.) (From an Engraving.)

We begin with Giovanni Maria Galli (1619–1665), known as Bibiena (*sic*), who, along with his family, made his way to Bologna from his native town of Bibbiena, not far from Arezzo, to study under Albani. His sons were Ferdinando (1657–1743) and Francesco (1659–1739); Ferdinando was the father of Giuseppe (1696–1756) and Antonio (1700–1774); Antonio of Alessandro (d. 1760); Giuseppe of Carlo (1725–1787). The first of the great theatrical artists of this family was Ferdinando who, after passing through the studio of Carlo Cignani, turned his attention to architecture, and together with Mauro Aldobrandini (1649–1680), placed himself under Giacomo Antonio Mannini (1646–1732). He then made a triumphal progress through foreign capitals, and it would be impossible to follow his steps and those of other members of his family without devoting a volume to the task. Francesco meantime did not confine himself to architectural work in canvas, paper and wood. He erected, among other buildings, in his native town, the beautiful Arco del Meloncello (Fig. 495), the graceful curves of which accentuate the junction of three roads. Antonio, however, was the most eminent member of the family. His scenic arrangements were regarded as marvels by his contemporaries, and we may still admire his decorative work and his theatres, of which he built a great number, both in Italy and abroad; among the few of these that survive, the most important

FIG. 495.—ARCO DEL MELONCELLO, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

FIG. 496.—MADONNA DI SAN LUCA, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

is the Teatro Comunale at Bologna (1756).

If, as we have said, the general aspect of Bologna had served to promote the taste for scenographic effect among the native artists, the prevalence of this taste has in its turn proved an incentive to the construction by the architects of ambitious and boldly conceived buildings. We have evidence of this in the work of Alfonzo Torregiani (d. 1764), more especially in the Rusconi and Montanari (formerly Aldrovandi) Palaces; in that of Carlo Francesco Dotti (d. 1780), who crowned the Guardia hill so majestically with the Church of the Madonna di S. Luca (Fig. 496), and in that of Angelo Venturoli (1749–1825), in the atrium of whose Palazzo Hercolani (Fig. 497) we find a classical scene in the manner of Basoli or of Cocchi. Nor should we forget that this last architect had as a pupil Giuseppe Mengoni (1827–1877)—also of Emilian birth—who shows the boldness of the scene-painter in his Galleria (Fig. 288) at Milan, and in the Savings Bank at Bologna (Fig. 498). Another pupil of Venturoli was Tito Azzolini (1837–1907), the architect of the Scalea della Montagnola at Bologna and of the Savings Bank at Pistoia.

FIG. 497.—PALAZZO HERCOLANI, BOLOGNA. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

For the most imposing buildings at Modena, that is to say, for the Ducal Palace (1635, Fig. 487) and the Collegio di S. Carlo (1664), we are indebted to a great Roman architect, Bartolomeo Avanzini; but there has been no lack of good artists in the city and surrounding district; nor was the pseudo-classical period deficient in architects. Reggio owes its theatre to a Modenese architect, and it was an artist of Ferrara, Alessandro Balbi, who commenced the imposing church of the Madonna della

Ghiara (1597, Fig. 499). Reggio, however, claims Francesco Pacchioni, who completed the work, and was also the architect of the Benedictine monastery; and above all, Gaspare Vigarani (1586-1663), who, thanks to his experience as a scene-painter, was master of a vivacity of composition which is shown in his designs for the Oratory of S. Girolamo at Reggio (1646), for the church of S. Giorgio at Modena, and for the Villa Malmusi (Fig. 501) in the neighbourhood of that city.

FIG. 498.—SAVINGS BANK, BOLOGNA. (*Photo dell'Emilia.*)

Ferrara boasts other excellent architects, in addition to Balbi. But the most celebrated among them—perhaps the only man of real distinction—is G. B. Aleotti (1546–1636), known as Argenta from the charming little city in the Ferrara district that gave him birth. For more than twenty years he was in the service of the Duke Alfonso II., and then in that of the civic authorities of Ferrara. He superintended with skill works of hydraulic and military engineering, and meantime built the façade of the Gesù church, and the church of S. Carlo, as well as the Teatro degl'Intrepidi, a building much admired by his contemporaries, which was burnt to the ground in 1679. But as a compensation we still have his famous Teatro Farnese at Parma (Fig. 500), still admired as one of the largest and most beautiful in Europe, and of interest because the architect combined certain classical elements derived from ancient theatres with modern requirements, erecting rows of boxes above the semi-circular tiers of seats, and arranging the opening of the stage and

FIG. 499.—MADONNA DELLA GHIARA, REGGIO EMILIA. (*Photo. Fantuzzi.*)

FIG. 500.—FARNESE THEATRE, PARMA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

the drop-scene above the cavæa.

Parma commissioned Alessi to build the majestic Jesuit College, now the University; but we must not infer from this that there were no good native architects among the citizens. The presence of Ennemond Petitot in the eighteenth century has indeed helped to give a certain French air of gaiety to the city; to him we owe the laying out of the "Stradone," a basilica of trees, the Palazzo del Governo, the façade of S. Pietro, and finally the enlargement of the Palazzo del Giardino, built in 1564 by Giovanni Boscoli. The buildings erected at the instance of Marie Louise, chief among which is the Teatro Regio (1621) by Nicola Bettoli also contribute not a little to the pleasing and aristocratic air of Parma.

At Piacenza again the restrained and harmonious buildings of the Renaissance alternate with such imposing erections as the church of S. Agostino (1570) and the Mandelli and Marazzani-Visconti palaces; but we do not know the architects of these buildings. Lotario Tomba, however, is the acknowledged author of the façade of the Palazzo del Governo (1781). Passing from Bologna towards Romagna we see no change in the character of the architecture. Every city here boasts artists of distinction. At Imola, in addition to Lorenzo and Cosimo Mattoni, we find Cosimo Morelli, one of the most prominent architects of Romagna in the eighteenth century; he built the church of S. Agostino in his

FIG. 501.—VILLA MALMUSI, NEAR MODENA.
(*Photo. Fantuzzi.*)

native city and reconstructed or altered S. Cassiano and the Palazzo Comunale. Faenza is justly proud of the fountain erected by Domenico Castelli (at work 1621), who derived his sobriquet of Fontanino from this work. In the next century it produced Giuseppe Pistocchi, the designer of such elegant buildings as the Gessi and Magnanuti Palaces in Faenza and of the cupola of the cathedral at Ravenna (Fig. 502). At Forlì the Baroque period produced several churches and a multitude of palaces. Frate Giuseppe Merenda (at work 1722–1770), who built the churches of the Carmine and of the Suffragio, as well as the hospital and chapel of S. Pellegrino, was one of the most distinguished architects of this town. In neo-classic times Giulio Zambianchi, who rebuilt the cathedral in 1841, was a notable figure. At Cesena we find the Theatine, Matteo Zaccolini, who died of the plague in 1630; in addition to being an architect, he was a distinguished master of perspective, and as such the teacher of Poussin and of Domenichino.

FIG. 502.—CATHEDRAL, RAVENNA
(*Photo. Ricci.*)

At Rimini, Giovanni Francesco Bonamici (d. 1759) had a great reputation; his buildings at Pesaro also, and at Fano, Sinigaglia and Ravenna, have a certain majesty; but it is difficult to forgive him the destruction of many admirable ancient buildings in order to make room for his own productions. For its theatre Rimini is indebted to the Modenese architect Luigi Poletti (1792–1869), better known as the restorer of S. Paolo at Rome, a majestic but inanimate work, than for his other really elegant

FIG. 503.—CHURCH OF THE ANNUNZIATA, PARMA.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 504.—S. PAOLO FUORI LE MURA, ROME.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

buildings. Ravenna numbers among the best of her architects Bernardino Tavella, who produced a work of real grandeur in the interior of S. Maria in Porto (1553). Luca Danesi (1598–1672) is the reputed architect of the Palazzo Rasponi delle Teste, a building erected more than thirty years after his death! However, the Theatine church of S. Maria della Pietà at Ferrara gives a good idea of the solid nature of his art. On the other hand, we have in Ravenna many beautiful examples of the work of Morigia (1743–1795), who also built the façade of the cathedral of Urbino. In the façade of S. Maria in Porto (Fig. 505), in spite of a tendency to Baroque overloading in parts, he shows his first strivings towards that neo-classic ideal of repose which he successfully achieved in the Fabbrica dell' Orologio.

FIG. 505.—S. MARIA IN PORTO, RAVENNA.
(*Photo. Ricci.*)

It may be thought that I have dwelt somewhat unduly on a period that has been neglected hitherto by our art historians. But the contempt with which the buildings of this age have been regarded, and the oblivion into which its architects have lapsed, are giving way before a renewed interest, which cannot be ignored.

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FIG. 506.—ADORATION OF THE MAGI. (FRANCIA.)
Dresden Gallery.

CHAPTER XXIII

EMILIA

THE PAINTING OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

The Three Great Centres of Painting, Ferrara, Bologna, and Parma.—Byzantine Decoration in the Baptistery of Parma.—Fourteenth Century Painters.—Lippo di Dalmasio.—Tommaso and Barnaba da Modena.—Serafino Serafini.—Marco Zoppo.—The School of Ferrara.—Cosmé Tura, Fr. del Cossa and Ercole Roberti. B. Parenzano.—Fr. Bianchi-Ferrara. Mazzolino. L'Ortolano. L. Costa at Bologna and Mantua.—Francia.—Timoteo Viti. Conflicting Tendencies Among Minor Painters.—Melozzo da Forli.

EMILIA has had three great centres of painting: Ferrara, Bologna, and Parma. But seeing that the influence of each of these centres has at times extended over nearly the whole of the region, nay, at certain moments over the whole of Italy, and has even passed the frontier, it will be well to examine them in relation one to another and in accordance with the development of the various schools and their various fortunes.

In former days, extensive remains of Romanesque painting were to be found in this district, but of the so-called Byzantine frescoes on the cupola of S. Vitale at Ravenna and of those in the Santo Sepolcro at Bologna, to say nothing of those on the façade of the cathedral at Reggio, little or nothing now survives. The sole really imposing work of this kind still in existence is the decoration of the cupola of the Baptistery at Parma. However, here and there,

in many parts of Emilia, we come upon examples of Romanesque frescoes that suffice for the determination of the artistic and technical qualities of the school, and provide us with the names of a few artists.

FIG. 507.—DEATH OF THE VIRGIN. (GIOV. AND PIETRO DA RIMINI.) S. Maria in Porto Fuori, Ravenna. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

Notable groups of fourteenth century painters are to be found above all in Romagna. Here we have Baldassarre (at work 1354), and Guglielmo of Forlì; Ottaviano and Pace of Faenza; Giuliano (already at work in 1307), Pietro and Giovanni Baronzio of Rimini (flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century); all these artists worked from the Marches (Urbino and Castel Durante) to Bologna, to Ferrara (where, in 1380, we find Laudadio Rambaldo), and to Pomposa. At Ravenna in the church of S. Maria in Porto Fuori (Fig. 507) they have left us what are perhaps the most notable examples of their capabilities, both as regards execution and sentiment. At Forlì and at Faenza the grand example of Giotto appears to have been followed more directly, while at Rimini we find rather an echo of the painters of the Marches, more especially the decorators of the great chapel of S. Nicholas at Tolentino.

FIG. 508.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (VITALE CAVALLI.) Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

The contemporary school of Bologna appears to have been of even less importance. Among the many painters the only prominent names are Vitale Cavalli, known as "delle Madonne" (at work 1340–1359, Fig. 508), Jacopo Avanzo (Fig. 509), and above all Lippo Scannabecchi (1352?–1415?)—the son of Dalmasio, also a painter (1324–1390?)—who has attained to a greater reputation and has given his name to

FIG. 509.—CRUCIFIXION.
(JACOPO AVANZO.)
Palazzo Colonna, Rome.

the school (Fig. 510). But Lippo, even in his last years, remained faithful to the formulæ of the *trecento*, while on the other hand Bittino of Faenza (at work 1398–1409, Fig. 511) has left us at Rimini good evidence of his attempts at an improved style.

But the most notable of all the Emilian painters of the *trecento* are the Modenese. We have already spoken of Tommaso; at Treviso we may see paintings by him admirable for their realistic tendency and for their nobility of sentiment (see p. 40). Less monumental in character, but not less lofty, was the work of Barnaba (Fig. 512), who, in 1367, is mentioned with the title of painter, in the will of his father Ottobello. Barnaba did not find scope for his activity in his own country; he pitched his tent in other lands and finally took up his abode in Genoa, where there are records of him as late as 1383. Serafino Serafini also (at work 1348–1385, Fig. 513) left his native city for Ferrara, but perhaps returned to Modena and passed his last years there; of this we seem to have evidence in the great altar-piece he painted for the cathedral, a work finished in 1384.

FIG. 510.—CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.
(LIPPO DI DALMASIO.)
Gallery, Bologna.
(*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

Two of the best of the fourteenth century paintings in the Baptistery at Parma (here, however, Romanesque work predominates) are by Niccolò da Reggio (at work 1363–1377) and by Bertolino da Piacenza. But enough of the fourteenth century!

Nor need we linger over the painters of the first half of the following century. Many names are recorded and many works of the period survive; but we know nothing of the productions of the former, and the latter are for the most part indifferent.

Emilia owes it to the school of Padua that her painting was definitely detached

from the exhausted formulæ of the *trecento* and vigorously launched into naturalism. It was by Squarcione that the Bolognese painter Marco Zoppo (1433–1498, Fig. 515) was formed; he went to Squarcione's studio at the age of twenty and remained with him a little more than two years, after which we find him at Venice. He also studied the work of Tura, and, like all the young artists who at that time flocked to Padua, the powerful art of Donatello. His manner is not so weak as it appears to some. Above all we must recognise in him a marked personality which distinguishes him from his fellow artists, as well as much energy in his research of form and character, a research that in his day amounted to a beneficent mission; it was a reaction against the feebleness of the old painting. But the battle was fought out more completely by the painters of Ferrara, where a remarkable school of painting was in course of formation, a school which combined the forms of Pisanello, of Squarcione, and of Pier della Francesca, with the most independent manifestations, while preserving a vigorous northern stamp that was all its own. It was by these men rather than by Zoppo that the new birth of painting at Bologna and at Modena was brought about. Apart from the severe and Squarcionesque Bono da Ferrara, who flourished about 1460 (Fig. 514), we recognise as the founders of this remarkable school Cosimo Tura, known as Cosmè (1429?–1495), Francesco del Cossa (1435–1477) and Ercole Roberti (1450?–1496).

FIG. 511.—EPISODES IN THE LIFE OF S. JULIAN. (BITTINO DA FAENZA.)
S. Giuliano, Rimini. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

There can be little doubt that Cosimo encountered Mantegna at Padua while the latter was working in the church of the Eremitani, and that he drew strength from the study of that artist's resolute figures; he was filled with admiration for what we may call the *scientific* spirit, the love of perspective and of antique

FIG. 512.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (BARNABA DA MODENA.)
Estense Gallery, Modena.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

beauty which was universal at Padua at this time. In return, Borso appointed Cosimo his ducal painter, and from this time forth, sought after and renowned, he worked at a long series of frescoes, pictures of sacred subjects, and portraits. His works, like all crude rendering of truth, give little pleasure on first acquaintance. An uneasy spirit, as Adolfo Venturi has said, he "confines the lineaments of his heads between strongly marked zygomic arches, and so stretches and moulds his closely-fitting metallic draperies to the body that the muscles seem strained, the veins distended, and the skin drawn tightly over the bones of his figures." However, as we gradually penetrate into the spirit of this great painter, we discover treasures of kindliness and beauty that fascinate us at last. Few works of the time bear the impresss of these qualities more strongly than his *Annunciation* in the cathedral at Ferrara (Fig. 516).

FIG. 513.—POLYPTYCH. VIRGIN AND SAINTS. (SERAFINO SERAFINI.)
Cathedral, Modena. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

The activity of Tura was almost entirely confined to work executed at Ferrara for the Este family: that of Cossa and of Roberti, on the other hand, was shared between that city and Bologna; they worked now for the Este, now for the Bentivoglio princes.

Cossa's visit to Bologna may be referred to the year 1470. At that time, though little over thirty, he had already a considerable reputation. When very young he had modelled in clay, but, passing to the art of painting, he had advanced with giant strides, triumphing notably in his work at the Schifanoia,

where one whole wall still attests his vigour, his fertility, and the felicity of his genius. The frescoes he painted in the palace of the Bentivoglio at Bologna had completely perished as early as 1507, together with those of Costa and of Francia; and the like fate has befallen the frescoes begun by him and finished by Roberti in the Garganelli chapel in the cathedral. On the other hand, Bologna still preserves a picture by him in the Baraccano church, and in the picture gallery a tempera painting, broad and impressive in style, but of such a rugged realism that we cannot but wonder it should be the work of the same hand as the frescoes in the Schifanoia, the predella of the Vatican, and other works, in which he combines elaborate treatment with a charming sense of beauty.

FIG. 514.—S. JEROME. (BONO DA FERRARA.)
National Gallery, London.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

The art of Cossa, in contradiction to the general belief, had numerous imitators. At Bologna we have proof of this in a number of tempera paintings in S. Petronio and in S. Giovanni in Monte and at Modena in the works of the Erri family, and of Bartolomeo Bonascia (at work 1468, d. 1527), the author of the powerful *Pietà* in the Galleria Estense (Fig. 517), painted in 1485. We thus see that the origin of the second school of Modena is to be sought at Ferrara and more particularly in Cossa. Nor is the presence in this school of elements derived from Pier della Francesca and from Squarcione to be regarded as evidence against this statement, for these are also constituent elements of the Ferrarese school. In support of this opinion we have documentary evidence, showing the close artistic relations between Modena and Ferrara.

FIG. 515.—PIETÀ. (MARCO ZOPPO.)
Ateneo, Pesaro. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 516.—ANNUNCIATION.
(COSMÉ TURA.)
Cathedral, Ferrara. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Among the various families of painters which flourished at this time in Modena, that of the Erri takes a prominent position; notable examples of their work are the altar-piece in the Galleria Estense (Fig. 522) and some frescoes in the abbey of Nonantola. The former was painted by Agnolo (at work 1449–1465) and by Bartolomeo, who survived to a later date, and who continued the frescoes in the palace of Borso d'Este at Sassuolo. Benedetto (at work 1436–1453) and Pellegrino (1454–1497) appear to have worked in the same manner, while a little later on, Annibale was a follower of Costa and of Francia.

Ercole Roberti (1440?–1496) was a less tortuous and rugged painter than Tura or Cossa, but he was their equal in imagination, vivacity, and nobility of sentiment. The *Pala Portuense* (altar-piece from S. Maria in Porta Fuori, Ravenna, Fig. 519) of the Brera (the predella is at Dresden), painted in 1480, is his most important surviving work; in view of this painting we can well believe that the praise given by Vasari to the lost frescoes in the Cappella Garganelli in Bologna is in no way exaggerated. Ercole was painter to the Duke of Ferrara, in receipt of high payment, and the favourite of Eleonora of Aragon, of Cardinal Ippolito, and of the young Alfonso, who took him with him to Rome. In 1490 he was commissioned to design the magnificent decorations for the marriage of Isabella d'Este.

FIG. 517.—PIETÀ. (BARTOLOMEO BONASCIA.)
Estense Gallery, Modena. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

A prolific and industrious painter, Roberti executed many works in

the course of his short life. In these the characteristic leanness of his figures serves to accentuate the dramatic agitation that informs them. He exercised a varied but unmistakable influence upon many of his contemporaries; upon Bernardo Parenzano or Parentino for instance (see p. 101), an eclectic spirit, who also owed something to Mantegna and to Domenico Morone; upon the Modenese, Francesco Bianchi-Ferrari, known as Frare (at work 1481–1510), an artist who, in spite of the searching severity of his types, did not neglect the expression of sentiment; of this we have better evidence in his *Crucifixion* in the Galleria Estense (Fig. 520) than in his *Annunciation*, which was finished by Gian Antonio Scaccieri; upon Michele Coltellini, who flourished between 1490 and 1520; and even upon such famous artists as Costa and Francia.

FIG. 518.—FEMININE PURSUITS. (FRANC. DEL COSSA.)
Schifanoia Palace, Ferrara.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

Lodovico Mazzoli, known as Mazzolino (1478–1528), who also owed something to Boccaccino (see above, p. 192), produced an infinite number of little pictures, careful in execution, rich in colour and full of animation; but he constantly repeated himself, and his types are often grotesque. On the other hand, Gian Battista Benvenuti, known as Ortolano, an artist who at the first had some affinity with him, soon revealed himself as a man of quite another fibre, distinguished by a spirit of grandeur and by a dramatic intensity of colour; his solemn *Descent from the Cross* (Fig. 523), in the Borghese Gallery, may be ranked as one of the most notable productions

FIG. 519.—ALTAR-PIECE. PALA PORTUENSE. (ERCOLE ROBERTI.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 520.—CRUCIFIXION. (FRANCESCO BIANCHI FERRARI.)
Estense Gallery, Modena. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

of the school of Ferrara. The life of Ercole Grandi (1465?–1535?, Fig. 521) was prolonged to a later date, but his art made no advance; to the end he remained in substance a ***quattrocentist,*** and this in spite of the stronger light with which he suffused his pictures after the example of Costa and of Francia.

It was these last painters who initiated a new and successful period of art in Bologna. Lorenzo Costa (1460–1535) made his way from Ferrara to Bologna in 1483, and remained there for long, indeed up to the fall of the Bentivoglio family in 1506, after which he passed on to Mantua to take the place lately occupied by Mantegna. The old Ferrarese writers make him the master of Francia; those of Bologna, on the other hand, call him his pupil. The truth is, that these two gave each other mutual support, working together amicably in various places, as in the destroyed palace of the Bentivoglio, in the little church of S. Cecilia, in the Misericordia Church and elsewhere. That Costa learnt much from Roberti is evident from his *Triumphs* and from the portraits of the family of Giovanni II Bentivoglio (Fig. 525) which adorn the chapel erected by the latter in S. Giacomo. In course of time, attracted by the grace of Francia, and his splendour of colour, he modified his style. His life was prolonged, so that he outlived Leonardo,

FIG. 521.—PIETÀ. (ERCOLE GRANDI.)
Gallery, Ferrara. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

Raphael, and even Correggio, but in his later years he had not sufficient vigour to master the "modern manner." Thus it happened that his passage to Rome in 1503 had absolutely no influence upon his essentially conservative spirit. However, Costa is a pleasing artist, never wanting in nobility in his aims; he is indeed now and then somewhat common-place and slovenly in his composition, but when treating simple subjects, he is well balanced, and even at times rises to a certain grandeur, as we may see in his great panel in the Cappella Baciocchi in S. Petronio (1492), a work which, for vigour of colour above all, appears to me his masterpiece. He also painted some good portraits, and in landscape excelled Francia himself.

FIG. 522.—CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. (AGNOLO AND BART. ERRI.)
Estense Gallery, Modena.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

The art of Ferrara, as a whole, was great in its method, in its searching endeavour for a stern realism, but it is at times hard, not to say brutal. It seems almost to contemn any assistance from sentiment or pure beauty. It is as a consequence of this that Francia, who succeeded in fusing a sweet and expressive charm with the technical elements of the school, in the end overshadowed the fame of his predecessors, who had prepared the way for him by their firm adherence to their artistic principles.

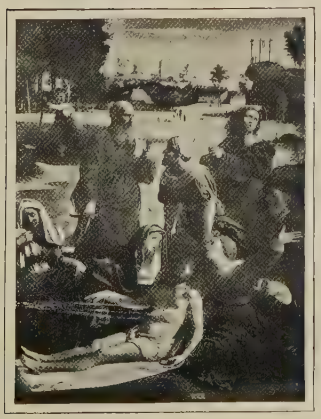

FIG. 523.—PIETÀ. (ORTOLANO.)
Borghese Gallery, Rome. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

Francesco Raibolini was born in Bologna about 1450 and died there in 1517; his name, Francia, is merely an abbreviation or corruption, usual at the time, of Francesco. A refined and versatile artist, he painted on panels, on walls and on

FIG. 524.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (FRANCIA.)
Gallery, Parma. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

glass, he cut dies for coins, he engraved *nielli,* and as a goldsmith produced some exquisite works. Indefatigable as a craftsman, within a period of twenty years of labour, he, like Raphael, did the work of four men, and gathered around him a swarm of pupils attracted by his fame both as an artist and as a kind and accomplished master.

As a painter Francia excelled in the enamelled smoothness of his colour, a manner of painting to which he adhered even after the introduction of new technical methods, and in the expression of sentiment, but his resources were not great and his imagination was limited (Fig. 506). Yet when we gaze upon his Madonnas, with their sweet, dreamy faces, so full of feminine suavity and of tranquil piety, we learn to love him (Fig. 524). When, on the other hand, the subject calls for dramatic vigour, his weakness is manifest. He is unable to synthesise the various elements, and, as if to deceive himself, he loses himself in a thousand details; this we see nowhere more clearly than in his *Burial of S. Cecilia.* But this does not lessen our regret for the loss of the grand series of frescoes by him which perished with the Bentivoglio Palace.

FIG. 525.—THE FAMILY OF GIOVANNI BENTIVOGLIO. (LORENZO COSTA.)
Church of S. Giacomo, Bologna.
(*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

Among the pupils of Francia we now recognise as the most important his son Giacomo (1485–1557); his nephew Giulio (d. 1540) and Timoteo Viti of Urbino (1467–1524), who on his return to his native town became the master of Raphael, and who before long completely changed his style. Gian Maria Chiodarolo (at

work 1490–1520), and Amico Aspertini (1474–1552, Fig. 526), though they have been described as disciples of Francia, were rather imitators of Costa, and as regards Aspertini, of Roberti.

Apart from these, Pellegrino Munari (1460?–1523? Fig. 527) of Modena is noted by Vasari as "the ornament of his age." He was at first a follower of Bianchi and then of Costa. Attracted by the fame of Raphael he betook himself to Rome; but it was not in his power to change the style of his art and make a fresh start; on his return to his native town Munari was assassinated. Mario Meloni of Carpi, who flourished in the early years of the sixteenth century, added to his admiration of Francia and of Costa a reverence for Perugino. An echo of the art of the two great painters of the Bentivoglio régime reached as far as Parma, with Gian Francesco Maineri (at work 1486–1504) and Alessandro Araldi (1460?–1528), the latter an indifferent artist, who also borrowed from Mantegna, from Leonardo, from Raphael, and from Pintoricchio, treasuring up motives from all these painters to combine them in his mediocre works (Fig. 528). In general, the artists at Parma at this time were not successful in following resolutely any definite artistic direction, but wasted their gifts in a thousand tentative efforts. Benedetto Bembo and other decorative

FIG. 526.—S. AUGUSTINE BAPTISED BY S. AMBROSE. (AMICO ASPERTINI.)
Church of S. Frediano, Lucca.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 527.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (PELLEGRINO MUNARI.)
Church of S. Pietro, Modena.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

painters introduced the manner of the Cremonese (see p. 191); Francesco Tacconi (d. 1491 ?), although himself a native of Cremona, brought in that of the Bellini (see p. 56) as did also Cristoforo Caselli, known as Temperelli (1500 ?–1521). Filippo Mazzola (1460 ?–1505), as a portrait painter (Fig. 529), shows himself a clever follower of Antonello da Messina, and other artists also worked on the lines of the Venetians. The art of Jacopo Loschi (1425 ?–1504) is on the other hand less easy to define. Wavering between the various currents, Loschi is perhaps to be regarded as the pupil of Bartolomeo Grossi (d. 1468), a *Cremonesque* painter; he worked with him for some time and married his daughter; in 1496 we find him established at Carpi where he died. He had brothers who were painters, among them Giovanni, the author of a picture still in existence at Pesaro. The sons of Jacopo remained at Carpi under the protection of the Pio family, and it was there that Cosimo and Bernardino worked.

FIG. 528.—DISPUTE OF S. CATHERINE. (AL. ARALDI.)
Cell of S. Catherine, at Parma. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 529.—PORTRAIT OF A MAN. (F. MAZZOLA.)
Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

In like manner, in Romagna, painters seemed at this time unable to follow any definite path or to fuse into a whole the various influences that, like little timid streamlets, descended to them from the Venetian territory, from Bologna, from Tuscany, and from the Marches. At first we find Giovanni Francesco da Rimini (at work 1458–1471, Fig. 530) following the manner of Bonfigli of Perugia; his paintings are to be found in all the tract of country from Bologna as far as Atri, where he worked with others in the apse of the Cathedral. Then at Faenza,

where a crowd of minor artists made their living by decorating the famous ceramic wares, we find Leonardo Scaletti (who died before 1495, Fig. 531) wavering between Pier della Francesca and the Ferrarese; Giovanni da Oriolo (or da Riolo, at work 1449–1461), an adherent of the latter school; and at a later time G. B. Utili (at work 1505–1515), faithful to the example of Pollaiolo, of Verrocchio and of Ghirlandaio (Fig. 533).

FIG. 530.—ANGELS BRINGING BREAD TO S. DOMINIC AND HIS DISCIPLES. (GIOV. FRANC. DA RIMINI.)
Ateneo, Pesaro. (*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

At Ravenna the influence of Bellini dies out with Rondinelli. It is indeed impossible to admit that Bernardino (1460?–1509) and Francesco Zaganelli (1465?–1531), known as Cotignola from the place of their birth, derived their art from his school; their works reveal distinctly the influence of Ferrara, more especially that of Ercole Roberti, as well as that of Palmezzano of Forlì.

Among the painters of Romagna, however, only one great artist is to be found—Melozzo degli Ambrosi, more commonly known as Melozzo da Forlì (1438–1494). In the past various opinions have been current concerning the origin of Melozzo's art. Of late, the reasonable opinion has gained ground that Melozzo was trained in the studio of Pier della Francesca who, we know, had worked at Rimini and in the adjacent Marches. There is also an undeniable affinity between the art of Melozzo and that of Justus of Ghent, and we have proof of this in the attribution, now to the one painter and now to the other, of certain allegorical figures of Music, of Rhetoric,

FIG. 531.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (LEONARDO SCALETTI.)
Gallery, Faenza. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 532.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (FRANC. AND BERNARDINO DA COTIGNOLA.)
Brera, Milan.
(*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

of Astronomy, and of Dialectics (formerly at Urbino, now in Berlin and in London), as also of the portrait of Federico da Montefeltro with his son Guidobaldo, in the Barberini Gallery at Rome.

It is not unlikely that the affinity between the works of the two men has its origin in the fact that Piero influenced both of them; but it may also be possible that the paintings of Melozzo made an impression upon Justus. Justus made his appearance at Urbino in 1473; at this date Melozzo was thirty-six, and had already completed some notable works; for more than a year he had been employed by Sixtus IV upon the great decoration of the apse of the church of the Holy Apostles at Rome, a work barbarously destroyed in 1711, when only a few fragments, now divided between the Quirinal and the Sacristy of St. Peter's, were preserved. But the painting by which the same Pope was pleased to record the foundation of the Vatican library, and the appointment of Platina as librarian in the presence of four other personages (Fig. 535), still survives in Rome. On the one hand, the vigour with which each figure is here defined, gives proof of the surpassing power of Melozzo in the searching rendering of character, while the *Angel of the Annunciation* in the Uffizi, and the angels saved from the church of the Holy Apostles (Fig. 537), on the other hand, reveal a lofty and exquisite feeling for grace and beauty. These, together with the paintings on the little cupola at Loreto, show a

FIG. 533.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (G. B. UTILI.)
Accademia, Ravenna.
(*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

knowledge of perspective worthy of a follower of Piero.

Unfortunately, Melozzo did not found such a school as might have been hoped for. His pupil and assistant Marco Palmezzano (1456–1538?, Fig. 536) derived indeed from him a certain solidity of colour and nobility of composition, but not his spirit of fresh inspiration and of vigorous life. Palmezzano was a prolific painter, whose work is accurate and conscientious, but the soul of the master is not to be found in his figures. Some echo of Melozzo reached the Imola painter, Gaspare Sacchi, who died after 1521; it reached too Baldassarre Carrari, the younger (1460?–1518?, Fig. 534)—on the whole a follower of Costa and of Rondinelli—and, by way of Palmezzano, was transmitted to the two Zaganelli; but before long the glorious sound died away, and very different voices echoed on every side.

FIG. 534.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (BALDASSARRE CARRARI.) Massari Collection, Ferrara.

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FIG. 535.—SIXTUS IV. APPOINTS PLATINA HIS LIBRARIAN. (MELOZZO DA FORLÌ.) Vatican Gallery, Rome. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 536.—CRUCIFIXION.
(M. PALMEZZANO.)
Uffizi, Florence. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

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FIG. 537.—ANGEL. (MELOZZO DA FORLÌ.)
Sacristy of S. Peter's, Rome.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 538.—CÆSAR CAUSES MEMORIALS OF POMPEY TO BE BURNT. (FRANC. PRIMATICCIO.)
Palazzo del Te, Mantua. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

CHAPTER XXIV

EMILIA

The Painting of the Sixteenth Century. Correggio

The "New Manner" of the Renaissance Painters.—Influence of Raphael in Emilia.—His Imitators and Disciples. Il Garofalo. —Dosso Dossi. Birth and Early Years of Correggio.—Altar-piece of S. Francesco.—Decoration in the Convent of S. Paolo.—His Work at Parma: S. Giovanni Evangelista and the Cathedral.—Characteristics of His Art.—His Disciples, Parmigianino, Anselmi, Rondani, and Lelio Orsi.

Vasari relates that Michelangelo scoffed at the work of Francia, and that meeting with one of the artist's sons, a very handsome youth, he said to him :—"The figures your father has begotten are more beautiful than those he has painted." He relates, too, of the same Francia that when he opened the case containing the S. Cecilia that had been sent him by Raphael "so great was his amazement at the sight of it, and so great his admiration that, recognising the error of his ways and the foolish presumption of his own mad confidence, he was so overwhelmed with grief that within a short space of time he died." Whether true or untrue, these anecdotes of Vasari's[1], like his story that Verrocchio, after seeing an angel by Leonardo, abandoned the art of painting, are of interest as evidence of the emotion aroused in the older artists who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth and in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century, at the sight of the works of the new generation.

[1] The second is disproved by the dates.

Moreover, we know what Lucas Moser of Weil wrote above his great altar-piece :—

"Schrie, Kunst, schrie! und klaget zehr
Dich begehret niemand mehr."

FIG. 539.—S. BERNARD OF CHIARAVALLE. (G. MARCHESE, KNOWN AS COTIGNOLA.)
Museum, Berlin.

Already in Emilia, and above all, in Bologna, the fame of the miraculous works that Raphael was painting in the Vatican had been noised abroad. The wonder became still greater when in 1516 and in 1517 two of his works appeared in Bologna and Piacenza respectively —the glorious *S. Cecilia* and the *Madonna di S. Sisto*, the most divine production, not only of Raphael, but of the whole art of Italy. The younger men were in ecstasy; and pupils began to fall away from the many local schools that were flourishing at this time. Among the first of those who took their stand at the side of Raphael, and by means of their engravings spread abroad the knowledge of his compositions and of his fame, was the Bolognese engraver Marcantonio Raimondi (1488?–1534?), who was followed by Giulio Bonasone (at work 1521–1574), also a native of Bologna, by Marco Dente of Ravenna, who was killed during the sack of Rome (1527), and by Enea Vico of Parma (at work 1541–1567).

FIG. 540.—CIRCUMCISION. (B. RAMENGHI, KNOWN AS BAGNACAVALLO.)
Louvre, Paris. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Numerous were the painters of Emilia who were drawn within the new orbit; they came above all from Romagna. Girolamo Marchesi, known as Cotignola (1471–1540) abandoned the manner of his fellow-countrymen, the Zaganelli, to whom he had shown himself faithful in his

FIG. 541.—MARRIAGE OF S. CATHERINE. (INNOCENTO FRANCUCCI DA IMOLA.) S. Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

early paintings, to adopt more ample forms in the pictures, at Bologna, at Forli, and above all at Berlin (Fig. 539), which have brought him fame. Bartolomeo Ramenghi (1484–1542, Fig. 540), known as Bagnacavallo from the name of his native town, Biagio Pupini dalle Lame (1490–1530), and Innocenzo Francucci da Imola (1494–1550, Fig. 541) detached themselves from Francia to pass over to Raphael. Ramenghi, indeed, did not disdain to cast a glance at Dosso Dossi, thereby strengthening his colouring; in this he gave proof of greater shrewdness than Francucci, who, with all his show of solemnity and accuracy, made no progress towards an elevated style. His colour is unpleasantly crude; we find flesh-tints of terra-cotta and reddish garments with yellow reflections side by side with draperies of a strident green. If Raphael made use at times of iridescent tints, the practice in the hands of Innocenzo became a mannerism, and he was the first of those lovers of opaline effects whose exaggerated tricks of colour characterise a certain period in the art of Bologna.

In Ravenna the influence of Raphael was less intense, but lasted for a longer period, with Luca Longhi (1507–1580, Fig. 542), a placid and timid spirit; in Faenza with Giacomo Bartuzzi (1501?–1579), with Giulio Tonducci (1513?–1583?) and with Marco Marchetti (d. 1588), an artist whose little narrative scenes, crowded with figures, and whose lively "grotesques" were appreciated and sought after both in

FIG. 542.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (LUCA LONGHI.) Brera, Milan. (*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

Florence and in Rome. His influence was felt too by Francesca Menzocchi of Forlì (1502–1572), but only for a time, for Menzocchi wavered, without ever fixing his style, between that of Palmezzano and of Genga on the one hand, and that of Pordenone on the other, passing from a dark, gloomy manner to one marked by a timid use of colour, where certain delicate yellowish tints, as of alabaster, predominate. And working by indirect paths, and passing by way of other schools and other exemplars, that remained faithful to him, the influence of Raphael was a lasting one. By way of Perin del Vaga it was passed on to Livio Agresti (d. 1580); by way of Francucci to Prospero Fontana (1512–1597, Fig. 543); by way of Giulio Romano it reached Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570, Fig. 538), his assistant at Mantua, a painter who, on the strength of the works carried out at Fontainebleau with Niccolò dell' Abate (1512–1571, Fig. 544), for Francis I and Henry II, acquired the reputation of a great decorative artist.

FIG. 543.—ENTOMBMENT. (PROSPERO FONTANA.)
Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. Bolognesi.*)

FIG. 544.—FAMILY OF MUSICIANS. (NICCOLÒ DELL'ABATE.)
Estense Gallery, Modena. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Benvenuto Tisi, again, known as Garofalo (1481–1559) after a visit to Rome, inclined to the new style of Raphael, adding qualities of drawing to the colour and the light that he had found in Dosso Dossi and in Palma Vecchio, and this without in any way breaking faith with the simplicity he had derived from Boccaccino. In spite of his many masters, however (and to those already mentioned we must add Panetti and Costa), Garofalo worked

FIG. 545.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (GAROFALO.)
Estense Gallery, Modena.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

out a style of his own, one which, if the colour is not always good nor the drawing irreproachable, is none the less pleasing for its grace and dignity (Fig. 545). Gifted with little imagination, he was given to repetition, and his work often appears empty; these faults are the more prominent because of his productiveness. It is, however, necessary to separate from Garofalo's genuine work a number of little pictures constantly attributed to him, but really by Stefano Falzagalloni (1480–1551), who not only imitated, but actually counterfeited the master. Antonio Pirri, a pupil perhaps of Bernardino Zaganelli, yielded in his turn to the influence of Garofalo, as did for a time Nicola Pisano (at work 1499–1538), who had previously been a pupil of Costa, and Girolamo da Carpi (1501–1526, Fig. 546), who was also an architect. But in time Girolamo, confronted by the works of the Florentine followers of Michelangelo, was led away by their examples.

FIG. 546.—MIRACLE OF S. ANTHONY. (GIROL. DA CARPI.)
Municipal Gallery, Ferrara.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

Nor was he less influenced by Giovanni Luteri, known as Dosso Dossi (1479?–1542), the greatest name in the school of Ferrara.

That Dosso had been a pupil of Costa is not impossible; in any case he soon escaped from the narrow bonds of his teaching to listen to the commanding call of the great Venetians, more especially Giorgione and Titian. With him the Ferrarese school of painting acquired a new strength of colour and, what is more, an element of poetry which extends from the principal figures to the landscape and to the general composition (for example, *The Vision*, at Dresden). It is with full justice then that, on the ground of his imaginative gifts, of the heroic poses of his figures, of the sense of mystery in his

backgrounds, Dosso has been called "the Ariosto of painting." The *Circe* of the Borghese Gallery (Fig. 549), in her Oriental pomp and in the seductive languor of her glance, is the poet's Alcina to the life; the *St. George* of the Ferrara Gallery, and that of the Brera are Ruggero and Rinaldo! Even his portraits have an element of the heroic, and we may well imagine a reciprocal breath of inspiration passing between him and the great poet, who in his *Orlando Furioso* loved to sing the praises both of his artist friend and of Battista Dossi (d. 1548), a painter who, while working with his brother, did not turn a deaf ear to the appeal of Raphael.

As for the others, Sebastiano Filippi, known as Bastianino (1540?–1602), although at first he attempted to soar to the heights of Michelangelo, was content in the end to follow in the more peaceful path of the Urbinate, as we see in his *Santa Cecilia* in the Ferrara Gallery. In the same way his brother Cesare (d. 1603?) made a reputation by the skill he showed as a decorative painter in his "grotesques," modelled upon those of the Vatican *loggie*.

FIG. 547.—PIETÀ. (SCARSELLINO.)
Corsini Gallery, Rome. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

Nevertheless, a breath of warm air from Venice never failed to reach the artists of Ferrara. It warmed even the refined but frigid painting of Ippolito Scarsella, known as Scarsellino (1551–1620, Fig. 547), whose works, when of small dimensions, are so precious, and it gave breadth in the composition and brilliant effects in the lighting to the pictures of Orazio Grillenzoni of Carpi (1550?–1617), an artist who was at the same time a sculptor, and to those of Carlo Bononi (1569–1632, Fig. 548), the last notable painter of the Ferrarese school.

While Dosso was at work in his lofty style in Ferrara, but under the influence of the Venetians, while Garofalo was repeating his agreeable figures, and the painters of Romagna, gathered together in Bologna, were breathing in the pure Raphaelesque inspirations, in the heart of Emilia rose a man of truly original genius: this was Antonio Allegri, known as Correggio from the name of the city

FIG. 548.—S. CECILIA. (CARLO BONONI.)
Corsini Gallery, Rome. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

where, in 1494, he was born and where he died in 1534.

All the stories that are told of Correggio's boyhood are imaginary. So, too, we can only arrive at his masters by inference, for the statements that he had been a pupil of Antonio Bartolotti (d. 1527) in his native city, of Francesco Bianchi-Ferrari in Modena, and of Francia in Bologna are based either on late authorities or upon simple hypotheses. He doubtless learnt the rudiments of his art in his own home, from his uncle Lorenzo Allegri, although the latter was but an indifferent painter. The exceptional nature of the boy's gifts could not long have escaped the notice of his fellow-townsmen and of the lords of Correggio; and the latter being in constant relations with the Gonzaga of Mantua, despatched the lad to that city, where he could admire the commanding productions of Mantegna, and study the works of Lorenzo Costa and of Dosso. Correggio, although he may have derived certain motives and certain forms from Mantegna, belongs essentially to the school of Emilia, and this is distinctly shown in a number of his youthful works, above all in the large altar-piece, now in the Dresden Gallery, painted when he was about twenty for the church of S. Francesco in his native town. This period, in which the impressions derived from his teachers are fairly evident, was followed by another, during which the artist strives

FIG. 549.—CIRCE. (DOSSO DOSSI.)
Borghese Gallery, Rome. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

to free himself from every bond and to develop his native gifts; but in this he was not completely successful, and the works of this time, with their warm Dossoesque tints and their awkwardness of expression, give indubitable proof of a painful effort in their execution. The definite affirmation of his personality first becomes manifest at the time of his visit to Parma, in the decoration of a chamber in the convent of S. Paolo (Fig. 551). From this time forth, producing a notable series of works, Correggio proceeds upon his path of triumph.

FIG. 550.—CUPOLA OF S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA, PARMA. (CORREGGIO.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Having finished his decoration in the convent of S. Paolo, he painted in fresco, in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista, the cupola (Fig. 550), the semi-dome of the apse (taken down in 1587), and the lunette of St. John in Patmos, besides three easel pictures in oil-colour. He then proceeded to fresco the cupola of the cathedral, where he figured the Virgin of the Assumption amidst a vast assembly of angels and of saints. It would appear, however, that this marvellous work was at first neither admired nor even understood; it was the subject of severe criticisms and biting gibes, such as that of the canon who compared the composition to "a hash of frogs." It is in any case a fact that towards the end of the year 1530, before the completion of the whole work, he returned to Correggio, where, save perhaps for some short intervals, he remained until his death, painting mythological pictures

FIG. 551.—DECORATION OF A ROOM IN THE EX-CONVENT OF S. PAOLO, PARMA. (CORREGGIO.) (*Photo. Alinari.*)

for the Duke of Mantua, among which we may mention the *Danaë* (Fig. 552), the *Leda*, and the *Io*.

There have been few artists who have possessed the inestimable gift of *personality* to such a degree as Correggio. At an early stage in his career every trace of the influence of the Ferrarese school or of Mantegna gives place to an entirely original conception of design, of colour, of light and shade, and of life. In his composition he is concerned to justify and vitalise every figure; of this we have examples in the *Marriage of S. Catherine* in the Louvre; in the *Madonna with S. Sebastian*, in the *Madonna with S. Peter Martyr* and in the *Notte*, all three at Dresden; in the *Madonna with S. Jerome* and in the "*Madonna della Scodella*," both at Parma.

FIG. 552.—DANAË. (CORREGGIO.)
Borghese Gallery, Rome. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

No doubt in the treatment of his subjects he showed less profundity than Michelangelo and Raphael; but every simple theme, thanks to the exceptional power of his art, he was able to raise to the level of lofty poetry. In the *art of painting* there was before long no secret hidden from him. With his brush he succeeded in resolving the most obstinate problems and in rendering his perfect vision, in space, of every foreshortening, of every movement, and this perhaps even to excess, even to extravagance. With regard to sentiment, his dominant note is joy, but this does not mean that he was unable to express grief and austerity. It was certainly his habit to escape from all that was sad and melancholy and to devote

FIG. 553.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS.
(G. GANDINI DEL GRANO.)
Gallery, Parma.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

himself to the most suave and jocund expression of life. Hence the indescribable grace of his thousand smiling creations and, above all, of his *putti*. In the matter of technique, Correggio is the representative of the final and highest development of Italian painting, as may be seen in the ideal perfection of his chiaroscuro, in his diffusion of light and in his vivacity of colour.

The range of his direct and immediate influence was small and he had few disciples. We find good qualities of colour and of drawing in Giorgio Gandini del Grano (1480?–1518, Fig. 553), although his composition is rather crowded and heavy; the works of Francesco Maria Rondani (1490–1549?, Fig. 554), although careless in execution, are full of life and light; but among the pupils of Correggio the most pleasing is Michelangelo Anselmi (1491–1554), thanks to the animation of his figures, to his warm and luminous tones, and to the ease of his technique (Fig. 555).

FIG. 554.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (FRANCESCO MARIA RONDANI.) Gallery, Parma. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 555.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (M. A. ANSELMI.) Gallery, Parma. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Born at Lucca, Anselmi studied in his youth at Siena under Sodoma; then in 1518 he proceeded to Parma, his father's native town, and placed himself under Allegri. The works of Girolamo Mazzola-Bedoli (1500-1569) have also exceptional grace and charm. His colour is soft and diaphanous, but sometimes errs on the side of weakness through the abuse of light, iridescent tints (Fig. 557). But there is one artist who takes a higher position than any of these and is undeniably second to Correggio alone; this is Francesco Mazzola, known as Parmigianino (1503–1540), the son of Filippo, who produced his earliest works in the

FIG. 556.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH S. MARGARET. (PARMIGIANINO.) Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

work-shop of his uncles, Pier Ilario Mazzola (d. 1545) and Michele Mazzola (d. 1520), themselves indifferent painters. The arrival of Correggio at Parma determined the direction of Parmigianino's art, but did not prevent him from maintaining a personal note all his own, which was unaffected even by the five years he passed in Rome in contemplation of the works of Michelangelo and of Raphael. Like so many other artists, he left Rome after the sack of 1527, and betook himself to Bologna, where he painted not a few pictures, among others the lovely St. Margaret (Fig. 556). After the coronation of Charles V. he returned to his native city, and was occupied in painting in the Steccata church; but his fantastic temperament involved him in quarrels, and he was fain to take refuge in the castle of Fontanellato, on the walls of which he painted in fresco the story of Diana and Actæon. Having returned to Parma, he continued his work in the Steccata, but he brought little to completion; embittered by new disputes in which he became entangled he fled to Casalmaggiore, where he died at the early age of thirty-seven. Parmigianino has been justly blamed for making his figures too slim and effeminate; no one, however, can fail to recognise the skill of his drawing, so much admired by Paolo Veronese, the refined distinction in the choice of his types and the gaiety of his colour. His drapery, which he copied from the antique, he treated with remarkable grace. He painted, too, some magnificent portraits, life-like and full of distinction (Fig. 558).

FIG. 557.—FRAGMENT OF A CONCEPTION. (G. MAZZOLA-BEDOLI.) Gallery, Parma. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

With his nephew Alessandro (1533–1608) the artistic fortune of the Mazzola family terminated, just as that of the Allegri came to an end with Pomponio (1521–1593), the degenerate son of Correggio. However, the seed had been sown. Lelio Orsi of Novellara (1511–1587), the master of Raffaele Motta (1550–1578, Fig. 559), derived from Correggio the gaiety of his colour and the boldness of his foreshortening, and from Michelangelo his anatomical energy, without, however, penetrating into the poetry of the one or the profundity of the other. In Bologna meantime Michelangelo had found his most gifted follower in Pellegrino Pellegrini, known as Tibaldi, of whom we have already spoken as an architect in Milan and in Bologna. (See pp. 165 and 293.) In the latter town, however, as was the case also in Spain, at the Escurial, he devoted himself more especially to painting. Tibaldi was indeed a great and many-sided artist; although a pupil of Michelangelo, he was never tempted to excess, and in his painting he gave proof of unusual vivacity and sincerity (Fig. 560). Lorenzo Sabbatini (1530–1577, Fig. 561), Orazio Samacchini (1533–1577, Fig. 563), Bartolomeo Passarotti (1530–1592) and Cesare Aretusi (1540?–1612) sought to imitate Michelangelo, fascinated by his eager daring and by his grand style, but they soon found it more to the purpose to hold fast to the gaiety of Correggio and to the grace of Parmigianino, and in this Passarotti was above all successful, even when, as in his altar-piece in S. Giacomo, he carried admiration to the point of imitation (Fig. 562).

FIG. 558.—PORTRAIT OF ANTEA. (PARMIGIANINO.)
Museo Nazionale, Naples.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 559.—TOBIAS AND THE ANGEL. (RAFFAELE DA REGGIO.)
Borghese Gallery, Rome.
(*Photo. Gargiolli.*)

FIG. 560.—ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS. (P. TIBALDI.)
Borghese Gallery, Rome.
(*Photo. Gargiolli.*)

FIG. 561.—ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. (L. SABBATINI.)
Gallery, Bologna.
(*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

It was to the studios of Fontana and of the Fleming, Denis Calvaert (1553–1619, Fig. 564), that the greater number of those who were destined later to form the new Bolognese school, the so-called "school of the Carracci," at first betook themselves. But these young spirits were soon too deeply stirred to rest content with the teaching they found there. They had before their eyes the works of Girolamo da Treviso, of Niccolò dell'Abate, of Tibaldi, of the Palermo painter, Tommaso Laureti, as well as the sculpture of Gian Bologna, and these appealed to them more than the elegant but mannered productions of the eclectics; above all, from Parma came the call of Correggio, the fresh bloom of whose art was not yet dissipated among a throng of imitators, as was the case with that of Michelangelo and of Raphael.

FIG. 562.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (B. PASSAROTTI.)
S. Giacomo, Bologna.
(*Photo. Alinari.*)

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FIG. 563.—CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. (O. SAMACCHINI.) Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

FIG. 564.—VIGILANCE. (D. CALVAERT.) Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 565.—AURORA. (GUIDO RENI.)
Rospigliosi Palace, Rome. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

CHAPTER XXV

EMILIA

PAINTING FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE SCHOOL OF THE CARRACCI

The Programme of the Carracci.—Exaggerated Nature of their Art.—Redeeming Individuality of Painters of their School.—Eclecticism. Lodovico Carracci.—Agostino Carracci.—Annibale Carracci.—Francesco Albani.—Guido Reni. Domenichino.—Minor Painters of the Bolognese School.—Guercino.—Later Disciples of the Carracci.—Modern Painters.—Conclusion.

THE principal merit, to my mind, of the pictorial school of the Carracci is in the fact that they thrust on one side the degenerate and emasculated formulæ of the followers of Raphael and of Michelangelo, that they freed themselves from these bonds, and took up their position once more at the starting-point, chronologically, of the followers of Michelangelo themselves; more especially they turned back to Correggio and to Titian. We must remember that Annibale proclaimed these to be his two real masters, and he recorded in writing that, compared with the *S. Jerome* of Correggio, the *S. Paul* of Raphael, which at first he had regarded as a miracle, now seemed to him "a wooden production, so hard and trenchant is it."

But did this famous school of painters, as a consequence, fail to give expression to the temperament of its own age? This would have been impossible, nor was the attempt made. Those critics, then, who blame it for not going back in its reform to the fifteenth century, and who abuse it as dull and heavy, show that they are incompetent to judge it in its historical relations.

FIG. 566.—COMMUNION OF S. JEROME. (AGOST. CARRACCI.) Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

This school then, although in the main Baroque in character, succeeded in placing a restraint upon all excesses. The tradition of the great masters, the study of the antique, the imitation of reality, constituted a fighting programme for the Carracci; but these principles could only be applied in harmony with contemporary sentiment. In other words, they might succeed in correcting and tempering the excesses of their contemporaries in certain directions, but not in changing their complex character. As a matter of fact, the masters whom the Carracci imitated were the very ones from which the Baroque style had been derived; their study of the antique was based upon Roman examples of careless modelling or upon statues where the muscular development alone had received attention; finally, their study of nature was almost entirely confined to the nude and to human anatomy. Their pictures show it. "A limb is not painted," so wrote Tassoni, "until the veins and the muscles, together with the flexure and the movements of the latter, have been measured, correlated, and then copied from the life with toil and industry, and compared with those of skinned and dissected corpses, so that all their workings may be understood."

FIG. 567.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (ANNIB. CARRACCI.) Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

But the simplicity of the real, and the suave and diffused light that the great men of the Renaissance beheld, no longer delighted their eyes. Their composition, their poses, their light and shade, were exaggerated, as were indeed all the activities of man at this time.

One thing, however, the Bolognese appear to have inherited from the Venetians: individual variety, or independence in pictorial expression. And it was in fact this

FIG. 568.—THE SCALZI MADONNA. (LOD. CARRACCI.) Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. Bolognesi.*)

that for long preserved their work from degeneracy. If all of them, as had before happened in the case of the followers of Michelangelo, had blindly followed Lodovico Carracci, their art would have had but a short life, and would have been of little efficacy. But as it happened, the better men among them always added a personal note of some kind, and thus warded off the damaging effects of a servile and direct imitation.

The eclecticism upon which the painters of the school of the Carracci prided themselves, must be considered as the impression we receive from them, and must not be held to be the cause of their special characters. Agostino, indeed, lays down the law that a good painter should be master of the drawing of Rome, the movement and the shadows of the Venetians, the colour of the Lombards, the grandeur (*terribilità*) of Michelangelo, the naturalness of Titian, the pure style of Correggio, the symmetry of Raphael, the restraint and the sound principles of Tibaldi, the invention of Primaticcio, the grace of Parmigianino, the complexity of Niccolò dell' Abate, to say nothing more; but it is clear that all this is mere rhetoric and indeed radically false; an artist paints in accordance with the art over which he has obtained mastery, and is not dependent upon criteria of this nature.

FIG. 569.—DANCE OF CUPIDS. (FRANC. ALBANI.) Brera, Milan. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Lodovico Carracci (1555–1619) studied first at Bologna with Prospero Fontana, and then in Venice under Tintoretto, who did not discern his gifts, and advised him to abandon art. However,

his iron will and his assimilative spirit enabled him to persevere. He studied in turn the works of Titian, of Primaticcio, and, above all, of Correggio. Having acquired strength by the study of these and other examples, he very shortly produced works that procured for him the title of the reformer of painting. His *Madonna degli Scalzi* (Fig. 568) and that from the *Convertite*, now in the Bologna Gallery, are two works of rare beauty, notable for the skill of the composition and for the ideal atmosphere that enwraps them. The St. Dominic, appealing to the spectator of the picture, and stretching out his hand with an ample gesture to draw attention to the Divine Child, is a figure which, although, as a motive, derived from Correggio, has taken on a fresh aspect, one which we shall find again in many other paintings of the school. It was, indeed, Lodovico who, together with other gifted artists of his family, founded an academy that was soon thronged with disciples, many of whom became famous.

FIG. 570.—COMMUNION OF S. JEROME. (DOMENICHINO.)
Vatican Gallery, Rome. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 571.—S. FRANCIS. (S. BADALOCCHIO.)
Gallery, Parma. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

Agostino also (1557–1602, Fig. 566) studied under Fontana, as well as under Tiburzio Passarotti, but the real inspirer of his art was his cousin Lodovico. Endowed with an enthusiastic spirit, he devoted himself to the observation of works in many styles, but he also formed himself more especially upon the study of Correggio and of Titian. He gave much time to engraving, and at one moment he seemed determined to devote himself exclusively to that art; this, it is reported by some, was to escape the

jealousy as a painter of his brother Annibale, a fiery, irritable, and quarrelsome individual. Others, however, do not conceal the fact that Agostino, although timid in his art, vexed his brother by his captious spirit, and at times grew warm over the questions at issue. While they were working together at Rome in the Palazzo Farnese, such violent disputes arose that Agostino had to make his way home disheartened. Thereupon Cardinal Odoardo Farnese recommended him to his brother, the Duke of Parma, who found employment for him in the decoration of the Palazzo del Giardino. But there, too, the painter "suffered annoyance sufficient to burst a heart in a breast of bronze!" Annibale (1560–1609, Fig. 567), in his turn, pursued his studies in Venice and at Parma. On his return to Bologna he applied himself to the development of the school with all the energy of his nature, which, as we have seen, was "only too lively and violent." He worked much in the principal cities of Emilia, and then passed on to Rome, where he executed an infinity of works, of which the most important were the famous decorations in the so-called Galleria Farnese. In the end he was struck down by a mortal sorrow, and it was in vain that Francesco Albani (1578–1660), who sought to aid him in his work as a son and to afford him moral support, attempted to console him.

FIG. 572.—ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. (GIOV. LANFRANCO.)
Pitti Gallery, Florence. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

FIG. 573.—ENTOMBMENT. (ALESS. TIARINI.)
Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The amiable and happy temperament of Albani is conspicuous in his works, which are indeed somewhat poor in expression; but his love of cheerful subjects is

accentuated by the frequent presence in them of groups of children that recall Correggio (Fig. 569). In fact, his preference for mythological and rustic subjects gained him the name of the Anacreon of painting. His life was a happy one; favoured by fortune, he was supported by the praises and by the commissions of the great. The one source of embitterment arose from the jealousy that existed between him and Guido.

Guido Reni (1575–1642) was much envied by his contemporaries for his gift of infusing his pictures with light, a light that in some cases became languid, but which at times gave a poetical power to his works. He learnt the elements of his art from Calvaert, and thence passed on to work under the direction of Lodovico Carracci. Not only in his native city but in Rome also he produced works that brought him much fame; but the number of commissions he received led him to repeat himself. Nevertheless, Guido preserved to the end a lofty conception of his art; and often, rather than produce perfunctory work, he preferred to return the earnest money he had received. In the study of the antique he sought rather for beauty than for strength. The Niobe suggested the type of his youthful female figures; the Apollo that of the males. In such allegorical subjects as the *Aurora* (Fig. 565), and the *Atalanta and Hippomenes contending in the Race,* he produced works of great beauty. His accurately modelled figures did not, however, suffice for the expression of vigorous and dramatic action. Even his *Samson* is rather an Apollo, and in his *Massacre of the Innocents,* which contains some admirably painted passages, the screaming mothers are merely models posed with open mouths. When he went to nature he preferred what was quiet and composed; but with what searching truth he could render her we see in his portraits, and nowhere better than in the charming rendering of his mother at Bologna, and in that of the Benedictine monk in the Uffizi.

FIG. 574.—FRAGMENT OF THE VISION OF S. FRANCIS. (L. SPADA.) Gallery, Modena. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 575.—CRUCIFIXION. (BART. CESI.) Certosa, Bologna. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

Guido, indeed, was perhaps the only artist who succeeded in compelling admiration from one who was habitually very sparing of praise, from Domenico Zampieri, known as Domenichino (1582–1641, Fig. 570), who, like him, had been trained in the school of Calvaert and then in that of the Carracci. Domenichino's sensitive temperament was the cause of his suffering beyond measure from the attacks of the critics "who rage with greater fury behind those who fly before them." But as time went on the note of praise prevailed more and more, and before his death he was regarded as one of the greatest ornaments of the Bolognese school. What Bellori says of him seems to us just: "While other painters are praised for their facility of execution, for their grace, for their colour, and for their other pictorial gifts, to him is due the greater glory of delineating the soul and giving colour to life." Domenichino worked for long in Rome and in Naples as well as in Bologna, and his numerous productions give proof of gifts, if not of great invention, of good draughtsmanship, and of a notable fusion of the diverse elements brought together in them; a distinct note of personality is preserved in the types presented, and we are conscious of a sentiment full of sincerity and fervour, nay more, of a candour that has given justification to the statement that we have in this artist "a quattrocentist who had strayed into the seventeenth century."

FIG. 576.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SS. ELIGIUS AND PETRONIUS. (GIAC. CAVEDONI.) Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

We shall speak later of Guercino and of the group of artists from Cento. Here it will suffice to note that there is a group of Bolognese artists who,

compared with him, with the Carracci, with Guido, with Domenichino and with Albani, take a secondary position, although not a few of their works attain to the level of these more famous masters: for example, Antonio Carracci (1503–1618), a vigorous but incorrect painter; Francesco Carracci (1595–1622); Lucio Massari (1569–1633), the last a pupil of Passarotti and later of Lodovico, a man notable for the vivacity of his composition and of his colour; Alessandro Tiarini (1577–1668, Fig. 573), one of the most vigorous spirits of the school. It was from Bartolomeo Cesi (1556–1629, Fig. 575) that Tiarini derived his composed and refined types and his warm and quiet colour; if he did not reach perfection it was because he worked too much and too hastily; Lionello Spada (1576-1622), preserved amidst delightful details (Fig. 574), a monumental simplicity of composition and great boldness in the contrast of bright flashes of light with passages of deep shade, after the manner of his fantastic friend Michelangelo da Caravaggio, an example which, as we may recognise in certain passages of their works, was not without influence upon Domenichino, upon Guercino, and even upon the placid Guido.

FIG. 577.—VIRGIN AND CHILD. (BART. SCHEDONI.)
Gallery, Parma. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

Meantime, many eager spirits from other cities of Emilia, attracted by the growing fame of the Academy, attached themselves to it. From Modena came Giacomo Cavedoni (1577–1660), a native of Sassuolo, who painted with Venetian breadth, but who, driven to the verge of madness by the death of his son, so completely lost all his power that he could neither find work to do nor bread to assuage his hunger; from Parma came Giovanni Lanfranco (1582–1647, Fig. 572), the painter of many large frescoes in Rome and in Naples, executed with technical vigour and with a distinct aim at novelty of composition; Sisto Rosa, known as Badalocchio (1585–1647, Fig. 571), an artist of small inventive powers but a good draughtsman and rapid executant; and Fortunato Gatti (1596–1651), more distinguished by the grandeur of his composition than by the accuracy of his drawing.

FIG. 578.—VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS. (AMIDANO.)
Gallery, Parma. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

There are two groups of artists who, although they take their place within the orbit of the Bolognese school, are distinguished by qualities peculiar to themselves; I refer in the first place to that founded by Bartolomeo Schedoni (1570–1615, Fig. 577) and Giulio Cesare Amidano (1570?–1630, Fig. 578); these men have in common shadows sharply contrasted with passages of ruddy light, drapery with ample and deep folds, and broad faces lighted up by eyes that are over-round and dark. The group of artists from Cento, ennobled by the great name of Guercino, is the second.

The founder of this latter group was Benedetto Gennari the elder (1575–1610), and to his school came as a boy Giovanni Francesco Barbieri (1591–1660), known, from a defect in one of his eyes, as Guercino, or "the little squinter." Having passed on to the school of Lodovico Carracci, he at once attracted attention and became celebrated. As in addition to his work as an artist he possessed solid virtues as a man, and great charm of manner, Guercino was sought after by popes and kings. The eccentric Queen Christina of Sweden was eager to visit him in his studio.

Guercino loved his liberty above all things, and he refused every invitation, however honourable and profitable, that would, for however short a time, have tended to convert the artist into a courtier. Of the extent of his work we have evidence in the books in which his brother Paolo Antonio (1603–1649) registered his painting; of their quality we may form an estimate in any gallery of importance,

FIG. 579.—S. BRUNO. (GUERCINO.)
Gallery, Bologna.
(*Photo. Anderson.*)

where we may assure ourselves that his fame, in spite of recent attacks upon it, will before long be re-established. However this may be, three successive styles are recognised in his work by historians of art. The first is distinguished by bright lights in violent opposition with the shadows; the drawing is not always correct, especially in the extremities, and the flesh is wanting in substance and bloodless. In his second manner, the influence of Michelangelo da Caravaggio does not entirely disappear; we still find a marked contrast between the lights and the shadows, but these are better handled, more pleasantly commingled; the flesh tones are rosier and more refined in treatment, the drawing is more exact and the composition more harmonious. This second manner of Guercino was his best; in it he produced works that are admirable in their dramatic intensity and their plastic relief (Figs. 579 and 580). To his third manner he was led by an insane desire to imitate what was in violent opposition to his temperament—the sweet colour of Guido; he abandoned his rigorous and strong chiaroscuro without attaining to Reni's refinement and suavity.

FIG. 580.—VENUS, MARS, AND CUPID. (GUERCINO.)
Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 581.—JOSEPH AND POTIPHAR'S WIFE. (CARLO CIGNANI.)
Gallery, Dresden. (*Photo. Alinari.*)

The number of Guercino's pupils is remarkable. Among them we find Giuseppe Galeppini, who was at work at Forlì between 1630 and 1650, and Giuseppe Maria Fegatelli (at work 1660–1675); but he gave the preference in his studio to his own fellow-citizens, and more especially the members of the Gennari family—Ercole (1597–1658), Benedetto

FIG. 582.—REPOSE IN EGYPT. (SIMONE DA PESARO.)
Brera, Milan.
(*Photo. I. I. d'Arti Grafiche.*)

the younger (1633–1715), and Cesare (1641–1688). They followed so humbly in the steps of the master that their mediocre productions are frequently assigned to him by tolerant critics.

The second generation, so to speak, of the Carracci school certainly shows a falling off, but it may still boast of a few good names. Carlo Cignani (1628–1719) was an elegant, vivacious, and healthy painter (Fig. 581). But a more numerous group was captured by the charms of Guido's art—it was, as it were, a reaction from the excesses of the *tenebrosi*. We may mention Simone Cantarini from Pesaro (1612–1648, Fig. 582), an artist of lively fancy and colour, quick in conception and execution; Domenico Maria Canuti (1620–1684), and Flaminio Torri (1621–1661). Those critics who have reckoned Pier Francesco Cittadini (1626–1693) of Milan and Gian Maria Viani (1636–1700) among the disciples of Guido have not taken account of the dates. Cittadini, in fact, was indebted for little in his art to the Bolognese, and his portraits reveal his admiration for Velazquez (Fig. 583).

FIG. 583.—PORTRAIT OF A LADY AND HER SON. (P. F. CITTADINI.)
Gallery, Bologna.

In Emilia as time went on a tendency to feebleness showed itself once more in the art of painting. But a successful opposition to this was offered by such able artists as Donati Creti (1671–1700) and Giampietro Zanotti Cavazzoni, the son of Giovanni Andrea, the well-known comic writer, who was born in Paris in 1674. He was a poet and the historian of the Accademia Clementina, but at the same time a respectable painter (d. 1765). The best known of his pupils was Ercole Lelli, who, as we have seen, also engraved anatomical figures. The

most prominent of the pupils of Creti was Ercole Graziani the younger (1688–1765), pleasing in his types and in his colour.

Both Canuti and Cignani had many followers. Among the pupils of the first were his son Felice (1660–1724), Luigi Quaini from Ravenna (1643–1717), and Girolamo Bonesi (1653–1725). Better artists than these were Giuseppe Crespi, known as "the Spaniard" (1665–1747), a painter who both studied and worked at Venice, where his modern elegance (Fig. 584) and his silvery tones excited the admiration of Piazzetta; and finally Marc'Antonio Franceschini (1648–1729), who became one of the most able decorators of his age.

FIG. 584. S. JOHN NEPOMUK CONFESSING THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA. (CRESPI "LO SPAGNOLO.") Gallery, Turin. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

Although the most important work of Franceschini, the decoration of the Sala del Consiglio at Genoa, has perished by fire, we have some fine examples of his brush at Bologna, in the Palazzo di Giustizia (Fig. 585).

Meantime, in the other cities of Emilia also, the artists were no longer grouped in serried phalanx. Each one, it may be said, took the field on his own account, and the variety in the subjects treated by them corresponds to the variety of their tendencies. Their work was no longer confined to the adornment of churches and of princely palaces; they were willing to devote themselves to the decoration of the house of any private gentleman, to that of villas, of theatres, or of the seats of academies. As for the subjects treated, they were of all sorts: sacred themes and genre subjects full of gamesters and topers, battles, hunting scenes, landscapes, fruit pieces, still-life, and a superabundance of

FIG. 585. DECORATION IN THE PALAZZO DI GIUSTIZIA, BOLOGNA. FRAGMENT. (MARC'ANTONIO FRANCESCHINI.) (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

portraits—of all of these we may find hundreds lying in the storerooms of our galleries or on the floors of the garrets in the houses of our old families.

However, a certain feeling for elegance and a pleasing *bravura* redeem many of these productions, and these qualities in combination served to form some other agreeable painters of the time. Piacenza, in the seventeenth century, produced Pier Antonio Avanzini, and later Felice Boselli (1650–1731), a charming painter of fruit and of animals; Gian Paolo Pannini (1691–1764), one of our most distinguished painters of architectural scenes and of classical ruins, enlivened by little figures; Ilario Spolverini (1657–1734), an able painter of portraits (Fig. 587) and of battle-scenes. The outskirts of Romanticism were approached by Francesco Scaramuzza (1803–1886), the illustrator of Dante; he was inferior in his historical pictures and in his portraits to Adeodato Malatesta of Modena (1805–1891, Fig. 588).

FIG. 586.—VISIT OF CHARLES III. TO BENEDICT XIV. (PANNINI.)
Museum, Naples. (*Photo. Brogi.*)

Nor does it seem that the good stock is yet exhausted, seeing that in our day this glorious land has given us Alberto Pasini and Antonio Fontanesi, of whom mention has already been made (p. 226), Luigi Marchese (1827–1862), Giovanni Muzzioli (1854–1894), Luigi Busi (1843–1884, Fig. 590), and Luigi Serra (1846–1888), one of the most marvellous draughtsmen that Italy has produced in the nineteenth century (Fig. 589), and the painter of the frescoes in S. Maria della Vittoria, in Rome, and in Bologna of those in the Irnerio.

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At the moment of closing this book it will be with a feeling of wonder that the reader looks back upon that magnificent series of works of art which ennobles the part of Italy here dealt with.

Face to face with these riches he will acknowledge that no nation can make a greater display of wealth or lay claim to greater glory.

And yet, passing down by the Adriatic coast and traversing the Apennines, we come upon other regions where art was not less great and where the memorials of it are not less splendid —divine Tuscany, with her perfect sense of harmony and beauty; the Marches and Umbria, suffused with melancholy and sweetness; Rome, at all times imposing, both in history and art; the Abruzzi and Apulia, with their superb cathedrals; Sicily, where the perfection of the Greeks has left us stores of the sweetest honey and where the Normans realised their dreams of splendour.

FIG. 587.—PORTRAIT OF ANT. FARNESE. (ILARIO SPOLVERINI.) Museum, Naples. (*Photo. Losacco.*)

And reflecting upon all this, it will be an easy task to maintain that the country which in the course of so many centuries and of so many vicissitudes of culture has again and again reasserted itself with æsthetic vigour has still glorious days and a glorious history before her.

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FIG. 588.—THE DEFEAT OF EZELINO. (ADEODATO MALATESTA.) Gallery, Modena. (*Photo. Anderson.*)

FIG. 589.—DRAWING. (LUIGI SERRA.)
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FIG. 590.—LAST DAYS OF TASSO. (LUIGI BUSI.)
Gallery, Bologna. (*Photo. dell'Emilia.*)

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